

SUFISM IN KASHMĪR
FROM
THE FOURTEENTH TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY



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To My Teacher,
Dr. S.A.A. Rizvi,
In abiding friendship and gratitude.

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PREFACE

The histories of Medieval Kashmīr, like those of many other parts of the subcontinent, mainly deal with courts and political developments. No attempt has yet been made to give a connected account of religious developments and the ideological tensions in the Valley. The accounts of the introduction of Islam and Sufirm into Kashmīr are shrouded in myth and legend. Modern scholars, who deal primarily with political history of Kashmīr, make occasional references to its saints, but their accounts are uncritical and generally based upon the later hagiological material.

The present work which is based on my doctoral dissertation, seeks to unravel the tangled skein of legends concerning the Ṣūfīs of Kashmīr and to present a connected study of the Ṣūfī orders from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century. Both the Ṣūfī orders introduced by the Irānian immigrants and the eclectic Rishī order which emerged locally have for the first time been examined and analysed in detail.

In the present work an attempt has been made to make a fairly extensive and critical use of all sources available. In using contemporary works, due allowance has been made for the attitudes and personal prejudices of the authors, while with later works an attempt has been made to remove that coating which legend and superstition have woven around the real figures of the Ṣūfī saints.

Throughout the work we have attempted to justify by reasonable argument our reliance on a particular source, wherever there has been a conflict of evidence or a contradiction.

The important legends have been summarised with a view to showing the gullibility of the hagiologists and the character of material that is available. Comparisons have been given, wherever available, from non-Kashmīrī sources, in order to show how the same types of legend and tradition flourished in other parts of the Muslim world.

In Appendix D we have given seven tables setting out the life and activities of the leading Ṣūfīs of Kashmīr as described in the various sources, in order to provide at a glance a view of all the traditions and the nature of their continuity, from whatever source.

The term 'saint', in this study, is used in a general sense to refer to the Ṣūfīs and the Hindu ascetics called *Sant* and *Sidh*. We realise that in the Christian context a corrupt saint is a contradiction in terms, but this usage has long been common in the subcontinent, and we retain it for the sake of convenience. Except where otherwise indicated all dates are A.D. In the translation of Kashmīrī verses and prose passages, the emphasis has been on producing an accurate translation into English rather than fluency of style.

Before concluding I wish to acknowledge my thanks to The Australian National University for granting me a research scholarship and other necessary facilities. I owe a particular debt of gratitude to my teacher, Dr. S.A.A. Rizvi, and I take this opportunity of acknowledging it with the warmest thanks. Professor A.L. Basham has placed me under a heavy debt of obligation for the keen interest he has shown in my work despite his other heavy responsibilities. He has also been very kind to oblige me in writing a foreword to this work. For assistance and encouragement I would also like to thank Professor Saiyid Husain Naṣr, Vice Chancellor, University of Tehrān, Dr. G.S. Chhabra, Mr. Z.L. Jalla, Department of History, Universities of Jammu, and Kashmir, respectively, Dr. M.Y. Qadri of the Department of Zoology, University of Kashmir, Mr. M.A. Rafiqi of the Oriental Research Department, Srīnagar, Miss Mary Hutchinson of the Department of Asian Civilizations, The Australian National University,

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A.A.	Abū'l-Fazl, Ā'īn-i-Akbarī
A.N.	— — Akbar-Nāmā
A.Ab.	Dāwud Mishkātī, Asrāru'l-Abrār
B.S.	Anonymous, Bahāristān-i-Shāhī
C.A.	Isḥāq Qādiri', Chillatu'l-'Ārifīn
D.S.	Dāwud *Kh*ākī, Dastūru's-Sālikīn
F.Q.	Muḥammad Ḥusain Qādirī, Futūḥāt-i-Qādirī
F.K.	'Abdu'l-Wahhāb, Futūḥāt-i-Kubravīya
G.A.	Muḥammad Aslam, Gauhar-i-'Ālam
H.M.	Ḥaidar Tulmūlī, Hidāyatu'l-Mu*kh*liṣīn
Iḥya.	*Gh*azālī, Iḥya' 'Ulūm al-Dīn
K.H.	Sayid 'Alī Hamadānī, Kashfu'l-Ḥaqā'iq
K.M.	Ja'far Bada*kh*shī, *Kh*ulāṣatu'l-Manāqib
Kashf.	Hujwīrī, Kashfu'l-Maḥjūb
K.S.	Mullā Aḥmad bin Ṣabūr, *Kh*awāriqu's-Sālikīn
K.Sa.	*Gh*āzālī, Kimiyā'-i-Sa'ādat
M.Sc.	Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī, Untitled Treatise
N.A.	Rafī'u'd-Dīn Aḥmad, Nawādiru'l-A*kh*bār
N.U.	'Abdu'l-Raḥmān Jāmī, Nafaḥatu'l-Uns
R.D.Q.	Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī, Risāla-i-Dah Qā'ida
R.Dr.	Risāla-i-Darweshīya
R.F.	Risāla-i-Futūḥiya
R.I.	Risāla-i-I'tiqādīya
R.M.	Risāla-i-Maktūbāt
R.M.Az.	Risāla-i-Mashāribu'l-Azwāq
R.N.	Bābā Nasīb, Rishī-Nāmā
R.Nm.	Bahāu'd-Dīn Mattū, Rish-i-Nāmā
R.S.M.	Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī, Risāla-i-Sharḥ-i-Mushkil-ḥal
R.Tj.	Jonarāja, Rājataraṅgiṇī
R.Tk.	Kalhaṇa, Rājataraṅgiṇī
R.Ts.	Shrīvara, Rājataraṅgiṇī

R.Z.	Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī, Risāla-i-Ẕikrīya
Sul*t*āns	Muḥibbu'l-Ḥasan, Kashmīr under the Snltāns
T.A.	Niẕāmu'd-Dīn Aḥamad, *T*abaqāt-i-Akbarī
T.Az.	Muḥammad A'*z*am, Tārī*kh*-i-A'*z*amī
T.H.	Pīr Ḥasan, Tārī*kh*-i-Ḥasan
T.K.	Muḥīu'd-Dīn Miskīn, Tārī*kh*-i-Kabīr
T.Ka.	Nārāyan Kaul 'Ājiz, Tārī*kh*-i-Kashmīr
T.Kh.	Hasan bin 'Alī, Tārī*kh*-i-Kashmīr
T.Kk.	Bīrbal Kachrū, Tārī*kh*-i-Kashmīr
T.Km.	Ḥaidar Malik, Tārī*kh*-i-Kashmīr
T.Ks.	Saiyid 'Alī, Tārī*kh*-i-Kashmīr
Ẕ.M.	Saiyid 'Alī Hamādānī, Ẕa*kh*īratu'l-Mulūk

TRANSLITERATION

We have followed Steingass's *Persian and English Dictionary*, except for the following changes and additions. The term 'Ṣūfīsm' has been accepted as an English term and is used without diacritical marks.

Changes

Steingass	*Text*
Feroze	Ferūz
*Kh*ānaqāh	*Kh*anqāh
Nauroze	Naurūz
Siddīq	Sidīq

Additions

Ṭ	ट	
Kh	ख	
Ḍ	ड	
ṅ	ङ	
ṇ	ण	
ṃ	ं	Sanskrit *anusvāra*

(I) INTRODUCTION

Review of sources and a brief survey of previous scholarship in the field

Delivering the Sir 'Abdu'l-lāh Suhrawardī Lecture for 1942, Professor A.J. Arberry observed :

> It would seem that there are few subjects on which so little has been written, in comparison with the wealth of sources available. Hand in hand with the purely literary work will go considerable archaeological research into the history of the shrines of the Muslim saints. Numerous outstanding personalities deserve separate treatment on the most generous and painstaking scale : for instance, Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i Shakar, Niẓām al-Dīn Auliyā, Naṣīr al-Dīn Chirāgh, Bahā al-Dīn Multānī, Aḥmad-i Yaḥya Munyarī, and Muḥammad Gīsūdarāz. Naturally, also each of the main Sūi orders could be made the subject of a monograph.[1]

Since 1942 some important monographs on Indian Ṣūfīs have been written; the unpublished history of the Chishtī and Suhrawardī orders by Professor Nuru'l Hasan, approved for the degree of doctor of Philosophy of Oxford University in 1948, is a pioneer work on the subject. Professor Muḥammad Ḥabīb's papers on Shaikh Naṣīru'd-Dīn Chirāgh Dihlawī, published in *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad, and his critical analysis of the spurious Chishtī mystic "Records of the Sultanate Period", published in *Medieval India Quarterly*, Aligarh, is a useful guide to scholars working in the field.

Many works on Indian Ṣūfīs and religious movements have recently been published but no connected work on the history of Sufism in Kashmīr has, however, been written by any scholar. The contributions of some of the Ṣūfīs and holy

1. *An Introduction to the History of Sufism*, p. 66.

men of Kashmīr have been discussed incidentally by a number of scholars who have written about political history of Kashmīr. None of these historians has cared to take a comprehensive view of the subject. Their accounts of Mīr Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī and Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn Rishī are based on pious legends.

Of the historical works which refer to the Ṣūfīs, the following are noteworthy.

1. *The Valley of Kashmīr* by Lawrence, published in 1895, is a general history of Kashmīr. Its Chapter XI (pp. 284-301) gives a general description of the various religious systems of Kashmīr. In describing the religious practices and beliefs of the Muslims of his time, Lawrence briefly refers to Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī, Shaikh Nūrud'd-Dīn Rishī and some other saints of Kashmīr.[1]

The author uncritically accepts legends, such as Saiyid 'Alī's confrontation with Tīmūr leading to his migration to Kashmīr.

2. *Kashīr*, by Dr. G.M.D. Sufi, is a history of Kashmīr from ancient times to the present day, in two volumes, published in 1949. In Chapter III "The Spread of Islam in Kashmīr", Ṣufi seems to be more interested in glorifying the contributions of Ṣūfīs to the history of Kashmīr than in presenting an accurate historical account.[2]

Secondly, his accouut is generally based on later works such as *Tārīkh-i-Azamī* and *Tārīkh-i-Kabīr* ; in certain cases modern Kashmīrī writers such as Muḥammadu'd-Dīn Fauq (d. 1945) are accepted as independent authorities.[3]

His defence of Sultān Sikandar's iconoclastic activities is apologetic.[4] In many places his narrative is weighed down with material of doubtful relevance.[5]

1. Cf. *The Valley of Kashmīr*, p. 292.
2. Cf. p. 81ff.
3. Cf. *Kashīr*, I, pp. 169, 162; II, pp. 608, 729.
4. Cf. Ibid., I, p. 148ff. See also infra, p. 100, n. 6.
5. Cf. *Kashīr*, I, pp. 96, 98, 99 and II, p. 608.

However, the work is important, as in the beginning it contains valuable and detailed information about the manuscript copies of medieval Kashmīrī literature in the various libraries of the world.

3. *Kashmir under the Sultāns*, by Muḥibbu'l-Ḥasan, published in 1959, is a history of the Sulṭāns of Kashmīr. His account of Saiyid 'Alī's life and activities is generally based on A.A. Ḥikmat's article "Les voyages d'un Mystique person de Hamadān au Kashmīr,"[1] whose main source was in turn Sufi's *Kashīr*. Like Dr. Sufi,[2] Muḥibbu'l-Ḥasan, too, has been carried away by legends.

For example, Muḥibbu'l-Ḥasan seems to uncritically accept the story that Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī visited Kashmīr three times,[3] and that the Saiyid's main reason for migration from Hamadān to Kashmīr was some alleged dispute between him and Tīmūr.[4]

Muḥibbu'l-Ḥasan does not investigate the causes of the differences between Saiyid Hiṣārī and Mīr Muḥammad Hamadānī, and does not analyse their impact on Sulṭān Sikandar's later policy. He mentions these important incidents only in passing.[5]

Many statements of Muḥibbu'l-Ḥasan are irreconcilable. For example, in one place (p. 224) he states "Unlike Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī and Shamsu'd-Dīn, he [Shai*kh* Nūru'd-Dīn] preferred a life of retirement, and was accustomed to withdraw to caves for meditation and prayer". But elsewhere (p. 235), while describing the missionary activities of Saiyid 'Alī, he observes: "His work was continued by his disciples and his son Muḥammad Hamadānī, and by Nūru'd-Dīn Rishī and his disciples".

4. *Histo y of Muslim rule in Kashmir*, by Dr. R.K. Parmu, is substantially his thesis approved for the doctorate degree

1. *Journal Asiatique*, CCXL, 1952.
2. Cf. *Kashīr*, I, pp. 86-87.
3. *Sultans*, pp. 55-56. See also infra, p. 35.
4. *Sultans*, p. 56. See also infra, p. 33.
5. Cf. *Sultans*, p. 63.

by Allahabad University in 1948, but not published until 1969. Dr. Parmu has made very serious mistakes in his account of the Ṣūfīs he describes. For example, he claims that Saiyid ʻAlī was influenced by the founder of the Naqashbandī order and later became the leader of that order (p. 102). No authority is quoted for this statement. But obviously it has been borrowed, without acknowledgment, from *The Word of Lalla*,[1] by R.C. Temple, who himself was not adequately acquainted with the Ṣūfī literature.

Similarly, while he uncritically accepts Jonarāja's statement regarding Rinchana being refused initiation into Hinduism,[2] Parmu accepts Rinchana's conversion to Islam on the authority of a legend: "By sheer accident or manipulation, it so happend that Rinchana's eyes fell on Bulbul Shah, a Mulim Fakir, so he became a Muslim and adopted the name Sultan Sadruddin".[3]

The alleged missionary activities of Saiyid ʻAlī are grossly exaggerated in this work.[4]

Parmu reproduces, with an English translation, an interesting document held in the *Khānqah-i-Muʻallā*, Saiyid ʻAlī's shrine at Srinagar, entitled *Waqf-Nāmā*,[5] which throws light on the working of a Kashmīrī *khānqāh* in the fourteenth dentury. The document seems to have been borrowed from the *Futuḥāt-i-Kubravīya*,[6] and its authenticity still remains to be established.

In recent years, several European scholars such as Meier, Mole and Teufel, have discussed Saiyid ʻAlī Hamadānī in articles and monographs. Their works introduce some important treatises by the Saiyid to French and German readers for the first time. They throw some light on Saiyid ʻAlī's activities berfore coming to Kashmīr, but make no

1. P. 2. See also infra, p. 237.
2. *History of Musllm Rule in Kashmīr*, p. 79.
3. Ibid.
4. Cf. ibid., pp. 101-106.
5. Ibid., pp. 467-475.
6. Ff. 63b-64b.

additions to the exisiting knowledge of the Saiyid's career in Kashmīr.

Fritz Meier, for example, in his article "Die Welt der Urbilder bei Alī Hamadānī",[1] gives only a brief account of Saiyid 'Alī's life, and makes a casual reference to his visit to Kashmīr. The author mainly concentrates on the translation of *Risāla-i-Manāmīya,* a treatise by the Saiyid on the interpretation of dreams. The author does not mention any other treatises by Saiyid 'Alī, except the *Zakhīratu'l-Muluk,* which he describes as the Saiyid's principal work.[2]

M. Mole has written the following four articles :

1. La version persane du Traite des dix principes de Najm al-Din Kobra, par 'Ali b. Shihab al-Din Hamadani.
   Farhaug-i Īrān-Zamīn, VI, Tehran 1337, sh., pp. 38-66.
2. Kubrawiyat II : 'Ali b. Sihabeddin-i Hamdani nin Risala-i futuvvatiyya'si.
   Sarkiyat Mecmuasi, IV, Istanbul 1961, pp. 33-72.
3. Professions de foi de deux Kubrawis: 'Ali-i Hamdani et Muhammad Nurbakhsh.
   Bulletin d'etudes Orientales XVII, Damas. 1962, pp. 133-204.
4. Les Kubrawiya entre Sunnisme et Shiisme aux huitteme et neuvieme siecles l'hegire.

Revue des Etudes Islamiques XXIX, Paris 1961, pp. 610-42.

In the article in the *Farhang-i Īrān-Zamīn,* Mole has edited the *Risāla-i-Dah Qa'ida* of Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī. He has utilized only manuscripts available in Irān and has ignored copies in Indian libraries. Mole states that the treatise is the Persian translation of an Arabic work by Najamu'd-Dīn Kubrā.[3]

The author makes a brief reference to Saiyid 'Alī's visit

1. *Eranos-Jahrbuch,* XVIII, 1950,
2. Ibid., p. 141.
3. Meier also contributes to this view (*Der Islam,* XXIV, 1937, p. 15ff.), See infra, p. 231 about the authorship of the treatise.

to Kashmīr. Without quoting any authority, Mole states that the Saiyid took refuge in Kashmīr because of persecution by Tīmūr.[1]

The second article, in the *Sarkiyat-i-Mecmuasi*, reproduces the *Risāla-i-Futuḥiya* (*Futuvvatiyya'si*). Like his edition of the *Risāla-i-Dah Qa'ida*, this also does not take notice of the manuscripts of the work available in Indian libraries. The article makes no serious analysis of Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī's teachings as a whole.

The third article deals with Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī, and the continuation of his traditions by Saiyid Muḥammad Nūrba*kh*sh. The traditions concerning Saiyid Muḥammad Nūrba*kh*sh in Irān and India are very complex, and Mole has oversimplified the issues. Since the Nūrbha*kh*sh movement is not the subject matter of the present work, comments on the subject are reserved for a future occasion.

The main theme of Mole's last article is to trace the Shī'ī leanings among the Kubravīya saints of the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries, including Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī. Mole has failed to examine the history of the development of the Shī'ī movement in Irān and has simplified the many entangled problems of Shī'ism on the basis of its theoretical principles, which in actual practice had developed considerable differences by the period under discussion. He does not differentiate between the conditions prevailing in Khurāsān and those in other parts of Irān and Irāq. The impact of the rising tide of Isma'īlism, which menaced Sunnī orthodoxy in Najmu'd-Dīn Kubrā's days, is not very relevent to the Isnā Ashāri'ī Shī'ī movement of the fifteenth century.

Mole's biographical notes no Saiyid 'Alī are drawn mostly from the Kh*ulāsatu'l-Manāqib* of Ja'far Bada*kh*shī. Ḥikmat's article, referred to earlier, is also quoted as a source. The author does not pretend to deal with the Saiyid's visit to Kashmīr in this article.

Among the works of Saiyid 'Alī which Mole mentions are : *Chihil-Maqāmāt-i-Ṣūfīya*, *Risāla-i-Futwātiya*, *Risāla-i-*

1. P. 40.

Aurādiya, Kitābu'l-I'tiqādiya, Risāla-i-Zikrīya and *Zakhiratu'l Mulūk*.[1]

The author rightly remarks that Saiyid 'Alī's thoughts were generally influenced by the teachings of Ibn 'Arabī.[2] In the present study, parallels in the teachings of the two saints have been given wherever available.

Teufel has recently published an abridged translation of the *Khulāṣatu'l-Manāqib* of Ja'far Badakhshī into German (Leiden, 1962). In the introductory chapter the author traces the life of Saiyid 'Alī on the basis of the *Khulāṣatu'l-Manāqib, Marturāt, Tārīkh-i-A'zāmī* and Sufi's *Kashīr*. He mentions two visits of Saiyid 'Alī to Kashmīr (in 781/1379, and 789/1384),[3] whereas Sufi and other modern scholars mention three.[4] But Teufel offers no justification for his decision to allot only two visits to the Saiyid ; nor does he give any reference to or comment on the Saiyid's activities in Kashmīr. His statement that "The house of Shāh Mīr went over to Islam in 720/1320"[5] is supported neither by medieval nor by modern scholars.

However, the author has realistically rejected the story of Saiyid 'Alī's confrontation with Tīmūr.[6]

He has also briefly described some of the biographies of Saiyid 'Alī, including the *Masturāt*,[7] Before commencing the translation of the *Khulāsatu'l-Manāqib*, he gives a detailed list of the works of Saiyid 'Alī in differeni libraries in Europe,[8] Turkey and Irān. He takes no notice, however, of the works of the Saiyid available in Indian libraries, in Kashmīr for instance, and at Rāmpur.

In the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, S.M. Stern (p. 392) regrettably repeats traditional and uncritical material about Saiyid 'Alī's journeys to Kashmīr which vitiate the value of his conclusions. Like other modern scholars, Stern believes that

1. 111.
2. Ibid.
3. Pp. 32-33.
4. Cf. *Kashīr*, I, pp. 86-87; *Sultāns*, pp. 55-56.
5. P. 32.
6. P. 29. See also infra, pp. 33-34.
7. Pp. 9-18.
8. Pp. 40-46.

Saiyid 'Alī visited Kashmīr three times.[1] He also alleges that the Saiyid was accompanied to Kashmīr by 700 Saiyids. Teufel (p. 33) interprets this surprising statement to mean that the news of the influence and powers that Saiyid 'Alī had attained in Kashmīr induced other Saiyids, to the number of 700, to flow into the Valley.

Modern Irānī scholars have also discussed Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī in their general histories of Sufism, written in Persian.[2] They generally give details of Saiyid 'Alī's spiritual ancestry and catalogue some of his works. They are maily interested in glorifying the Saiyid's importance as an Irānī.

However, a more sober article entitled "Les voyages d'un Mystique persan de Hamadān au Kashmīr" was contributed by A A. Ḥikmat, *Journal Asiatique*, CCXL, 1952. This article, as already mentioned, is important because it has been a source for Indian as well as European scholars. A.A. Ḥikmat's main source for Saiyid 'Alī's career in Kashmīr being *Kashīr*, the article needs no further comment.

Another prominent saint of Kashmīr who has received some attention from modern scholars is Shai*kh* Nūru'd-Dīn Risnī. Temple, who edited and translated the sayings of Lallā into English, has described him, and also Saiyid 'Alī, in his introductory chapter (pp. 1-14). But some of his conclusions, such as Nūru'd-Dīn being senior to Lallā, are unproven.

Pandit Anand Kaul wrote a long article, "A Life of Nand Rishī", in the *Indian Antiquary*,[3] but it uncritically reproduces trnditional and legendary material. The author, for example, accepts the stories of Shai*kh* Nūru'd-Dīn's life as a thief on the basis of too literal an interpretation of some of the Shai*kh*'s sayings.[4]

1. Stern claims that the Saiyid first visited Kashmir in 774/1372 during the reign of Sulṭān Shihābu'd-Dīn. This assumption, which is supported by none of the sources except Ḥasan and Miskīn, is incorrect, as we have attempted to show. Cf. infra, pp. 35-36.
2. A good work for instance is *Uṣūl-i-Taṣwwuf* by Ihṣānu'llāh 'Ali (Tehran 1379/1959-60), pp. 282-311.
3. V. 58, 1929; V. 59. 1930.
4. Cf. V. 58, pp. 196-198.

To write a scientific history of Sufism either in general or in a particular area, a modern scholar has to work through a vast mass of published and unpublished works. The most authentic is the literature written by eminent Ṣūfīs themselves about their doctrines, theories and practices. These works, mostly unpublished, contain sermons and discourses intended to point a moral and glorify the Ṣūfī doctrines. In their enthusiasm to prove the correctness of their doctrines and practices, they do not hesitate to rely on apocryphal *hadīses* and legendary accounts and anecdotes of the prophets and the apostles. This has resulted in the emergence of a corpus of *hadīses*, accepted by Ṣūfīs, although most of them are spurious.

However, this literature gives the basic framework and structure of Sufism in Kashmīr, as it does in the case of the histories of other countries, and reveals the minds of their authors and their readers.

The second category of authors on Sufism were immediate disciples of Ṣūfīs. They took down notes of the discourses of great masters, and later on wrote connected accounts of these sermons. Sometimes the notes were submitted to the master for correction and approval. Although this literature seems to be authentic, it is not free from the defects mentioned in the first category. However, it gives a better idea of time and place, even if not dated, because the accout of the discourses is set against some historical background.

The third category is biographical accounts of Ṣūfīs drawn upon by the above two types of literature. Many biographersof the saints were trained traditionalists, and they applied the canons used in examining the traditions of the Prophet Muḥammad to the traditions of various Ṣūfīs. Some of these biographers have omitted the apocryphal and spurious material, so giving their work a greater degree of credibility. Biographers who were only credulous believers, however, in the miracles and supernatural powers of the saints, revelled in describing fantastic legends and anecdotes about the Ṣūfīs. They were interested only in glorifying the achievements of their masters, and found

ready material in spurious discourses and writings, ascribed to the great masters.

This sort of forgery was common in all Islamic countries and in each century, and such material presents a real difficulty to the objective modern scholar, who cannot afford to ignore it in forming a historical judgement.

The fourth source of information about the Ṣūfīs are the political chronicles. They describe some of the leading Ṣūfīs who either wielded influence at the court or clashed with the ruling class and the elite ove religious issues. Unlike hagiologers of the saints they were not generally concerned with the glorification of the Ṣūfīs; but as their main source of information was unauthentic literature, they also have incorporated legendary material in their works.

The Ṣūfī literature of Kashmīr contains all the above types of material.

The works of Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī do not say anything about his personal life, but mainly deal with mystic beliefs and practices, and also throw light on his polilitical ideas. Likewise Nūru'd-Dīn's sayings do not tell us anything about his life, but they are important as they throw light on his religious beliefs and on aspects of medieval Kashmīrī society. Attempts have been made to construct biographical details on the basis of these sayings of the Shai*kh*. But like the sayings of Kabīr and Nānak, the sayings of Shai*kh* Nūru'd-Dīn were intended to draw moral conclusions, and present aspects of ethical behaviour in different situations. Unless corroborated by authentic contemporary sources, it would not be fair to construct any biographical detail on the basis of these sayings.

Some writings of Saiyid 'Alī and sayings of Shai*kh* Nūru'-d-Dīn have been ascribed to other Ṣūfīs, while some writings of other Ṣūfīs have been ascribed to the former. It is therefore essential that no conclusions should be based on the unauthentic writings of the great masters.

Similarly, the works of Bābā Dāwud *Kh*ākī and Shai*kh* Yā'qub Ṣarfī help us to determine their religious ideas and

their attitude towards the Shī'ī sect, which by their time was strongly established in Kashmīr.

Of the works of the disciples of Mīr Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī the only one available is the Kh*ulāṣatu'l-Manāqib* (begun in 787/1385), by Ja'far Bada*kh*shī. It is a compendium of the anecdotes which he had heard his master relate. Some anecdotes and legends are drawn from other sources. The work includes the verses of the Saiyid and some other Ṣūfīs such as 'Aṭṭār and Sa'dī. It also quotes *ḥadīses* said to have been recounted by the Saiyid from time to time. It mentions Najmu-'d-Dīn Kubrā's *Fawātiḥu'l-Jamāl,*[1] and Saiyid 'Alī's *Zakhīratu'l-Mulūk*[2] and *Wāridāt.*[3]

The Kh*ulāṣtu'l-Manāqub* tends to show that Saiyid 'Alī had a very high opinion of his own achievements as a saint. For instance, he is made to claim that his devotional exercises were at par with those of Imām Zainu'l-Ābidīn,[4] son of Imām Ḥusain. It also suggests that Saiyid 'Alī thought that his contemporaries had failed to recognise the true worth of himself and his works.[5]

The biogrrphical references in the Kh*ulāṣatu'l Manāqib* are not many, and deal mainly with the Saiyid's activities in *Kh*uttalān, Bada*kh*shān and Hamadān. The work, surprisingly, makes no reference to Saiyid 'Alī's visit to Kashmīr.

Although the anecdotes and legends ascribed to Saiyid 'Alī are dubious, the biographical references are valuable and clearly reveal his personality.

The Kh*ulāṣatu'l Manāqib* has recently been translated into German by Teufel (Leiden, 1962).[6] He seems to have used the following manuscripts: Berlin (Pertsch) Nos. 6, 8; Oxford (Ethé) No. 1889.

Both the manuscripts are undated. Teufel appears to have had no knowledge of the manuscripts in the Riẓā Library, Rāmpur, and the Oriental Research Department at Srīnagar,

1. *K.M.* (Ms.) pp. 512-13.
2. Ibid., p. 537.
3. Ibid., p. 559.
4. Ibid , p. 472.
5. Ibid.
6. See supra, p. xv.

used in the present work. His translation, although useful, would have been still better if he had consulted other known manuscripts before completing his text.

Another biography of Saiyid 'Alī is the *Mastūrat* by one Ḥaidar, completed in 1136/1723.[1] It makes a brief reference to Saiyid 'Alī's visit to Kashmīr, but it mainly draws upon the Kh*ulāṣatu'l-Manāqib*, with excursions in the realms of myth. The legends added by Ḥaidar are intended to glorify the achievements of Saiyid 'Alī. It is alleged that the Saiyid claimed that the Prophet had ordered him to visit Kashmīr to convert the people there to Islam.[2]

This shows that before 350 years had elapsed, the legends about Saiyid 'Alī had developed in the direction of making him a great missionary. These accretions were further elaborated by subsequent scholars such as Wahhāb, Ḥasan and Miskīn[3] who transformed Saiyid 'Alī into a legendary figure.

The *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr,* by Saiyid 'Alī,[4] although a political chronicle, devotes more space to the saints of Kashmīr including Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī, Mīr Muḥammad, Shai*kh* Nūru'd-Dīn Rishī and his disciples. It is the only Persian chronicle available which was written during the period under review. The author, who flourished in the sixteenth century, witnessed many historical and religious conflicts such as the Shī'ī-Sunnī controversies during Mīrzā Ḥaidar's time.[5] But he does not throw any light on the causes of tension and conflict between the two Muslim communities. However, he tries to prove that the Sunnī Ṣūfīs were able to minimise Shī'ī influence in Kashmīr.

Although his account of the conflict between Mīr Muḥammad and Saiyid Ḥiṣārī is brief,[6] it shows that the Kubravīyas

1. See infra, p, 268 for the date and authorship of the work.
2. F. 420a.
3. The authors of *F.K.*, *T.H.*, and *T.K.*, respectively.
4. See infra, pp. 274-75, for the date and the detailed analysis of the work.
5. See infra, p. 274.
6. F. 10b.

in Kashmīr were divided among themselves on the issue of treatment of non-Muslims.

Uulike the later writers, the author does not attribute Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī's migration to Kashmīr to Tīmūr's persecution, but states that before coming the Saiyid had sent two of his cousins to Kashmīr to explore the religious and political atmosphere there.[1]

His account of the Rishīs is also brief and iegendary. No biographical account of Shai*kh* Nūru'd-Dīn Rishī's attempted but much space is devoted to a description of his miraculous powers. The same style is followed for the description of the Shai*kh*'s followers, Bāmu'd-Dīn, Zainu'd-Dīn and Naṣīru'd-Dīn. But his account of Mīr Muḥammad's enco unter with Shai*kh* Nūru'd-Dīn is of great importance. It helps us to determine the attitudes of the two saints on petty issues such as abstaining from marriage and eating meat. During his narrative the author mentions two sources no longer extant :[2] *Tārī*kh-*i-Qāẓi* by Qāẓi Ibrāhīm, and an untitled work of Ibrāhīm Adham, a Kubravī saint of Kashmīr.[3]

The later hagiologists draw upon the *Tārī*kh-*i-Kashmīr* of Saiyid 'Alī profusely, but they also continue to add legendary anecdotes in order to make the achievements of the Ṣūfīs more impressive. For example, Saiyid 'Alī refers to the encounter of Shai*kh* Nūru'd-Dīn with Bāmu'd-Dīn before the latter's conversion,[4] but unlike later hagiologists (Naṣīb the author of *Rishī-Nāmā*[5] and Wahhāb the author of *Futūḥāt-i-Kubrāvī*),[6] Saiyid 'Alī does not state that the Shai*kh* had flung the bloody skin of a newly slaughtered cow over his shoulders when he visited Bāmu'd-Dīn. Such embroideries by later hagiologists seem to have been made to show the Shai*kh* as an orthodox and narrow-minded Muslim.

It is not difficult to exclude the legendary material from the *Tārī*kh-*i-Kashmīr* of Saiyid 'Alī, as the author puts the religious events in their proper historical setting.

1. F. 1a
2. Ff. 1a, 34b.
3. See infra, p. 95, for his biography.
4. F. 32a-b.
5. Ff, 254b-55a.
6. Ff. 92b-93a.

The source next in importanee for our study is the *Rishī-Nāmā* by Naṣīb, completed in 1041/1631. It is an important source of information for the lives and activities of the Rishī saints. There is hardly any later hagiological work which does not quote it.

The author says in the introduction that the reason for its composition was to glorify the deeds of the saints of the past. Thus, as he is a hagiologist, we cannot expect from Naṣīb any historical acumen in analysing personalities such as Shai*kh* Nūru'd-Dīn and Bāmu'd-Dīn.

Much as Naṣīb's account is legendary. The legends described by him are frequently coloured with romatic touehes. They generally ascribe all canversions, such as those of Bāmu-'d-Dīn, Zainu'd-Din and La*t*īfu'd-Dīn, to the supernatural powers of Shai*kh* Nūru'd-Dīn. They also try to prove that the Shai*kh* was a great missionary of Islam.[1]

However, the saying of Shai*kh* Nūru'd-Dīn recorded by Naṣīb help us in determining ,he teachings of the Shai*kh*, and present him as a holy man of few pretensions.

Naṣīb also refers to the anti-Shī'ī activities of Mīrzā Ḥaidar and Shai*kh* Ḥamza. But his account in this respect is biased. The author's dislike of the Shī'ī's is quite clear from the fact that he frequeutly calls them "miserable" and "wreched." He quotes some anecdotes in order to show that Ṣūfīs such as Shai*kh* Ḥamza, thougo their supernatural powers used to pick out the Shī'ī's from among any gathering, which enabled them to crush Shī'ī sacrilegious activities.

However, when his account is critically analysed and tegendary material is removed, he comes out as a truthful narrator. For example, he say that in pre-Islamic days there lived three Rishīs, whose ages he determines according to their deeds.[2] The story seems to be a Hindu mythological tale, but when examined it can be recognised that the Rishī way of life was practised by the Hindu ascetics of Kashmīr: a fact to

1. See infra, p. 159ff.
2. See infra, p. 135.

which Mishkātī, the anthor of *Asāru'l-Abrār*, clearly refers when he says that Nūru'd-Dīn renewed the ancient traditions of the Rishīs though ignoring their monastic life and Brāhmanic beliefs.[1]

Another biography of the Rishīs, also entitled the *Rishī-Nāma*, is by Behāu'd-Dīn Mattū (d. 1248/1832). Mattū's vehicle of expression being poetry, he gives limitless flight to his imagination and colours the legends with allegory and metaphor.

The work shows that with the passage of time the tapestry of Rishī myths and legends was further elaborated through imaginary events. In order to show the supernatural powers of the Ṣūfīs, for which the pious memory of later generations remembered them, stories were invented such as that telling of the Sultān Sikandar sending a courtesan to Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn to test his spirituality.[2]

Among the genera biographies, the most noteworthy are *Asrāru'l-Abrār*, *Futūhāt-i-Kubraīya*, *Khawāriqu's-Sālikīn*, and *Tārīkh-i-Ḥasan*. They draw mainly uqon the earlier traditions and confirm anecdoses according to their own taste and belief. The later sources, such as *Tārīkh-i-Ḥasan*, are detailed, and the latter is regarded by some modern scholars[3] as a compendium of historical knowledge about Kashmīr, but it is in fact very uncritical and unreliable.

The *Asrāru'l-Abrār* of Mishkātī, completed in 1063/1653, contains biographical accouhts of the important saints of Kashmīr. Saiyid 'Alī Ḥamadānī and his disciples ar described briefly, and more attention is paid to the Rishīs. Like the *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr* of Saiyid 'Alī, this book highly extols the missionary activities of Mīr Muḥammad, and Sultān Sikandar's anti-Hindu measures.

Mishkātī corroborates Naṣib, and often quotes him as the source of his information. But in certain places as we have seen earlier, his information is definitely more ravealing than

1. See infra, p. 135,
2. See infra, y. 135, n. 5.
3. Cf. *Sultāns*, pp. 13-14; *History of Muslim Rule in Kashmīr*, p. 15.

the information supplied by Naṣīb. He also quotes some of the sayings of Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn which do not appear in Naṣīb's *Rishī-Nāma* and which he says he collected from various sources; which, however, he does not mention. He is the first authority to ascribe Nūru'd-Dīn's conversion to Lallā.[1]

Where Mishkātī finds evidence conflicting, he quotes his source and leaves the reader to form his own conclusions.

Khawāriqu's-Sālkīn, by Mullā bin 'Abdu's Ṣabūr completed in 1100/1698, gives a brief account of all the prominent Ṣūfīs of Kashmīr. Important persanalities such as Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn and Mīr Muḥammad are often dismissed in few lines. The work describes Ṣūfīs under the three categaries—Saiyids, Rishīs and Mashā'ikh of Kashmīr—and therefore is defective in chronology. But for some events the author is nearer the truth than even some earlier authorities. For example, the circumstances of Zainu'd-Dīn and Latīfu'd-Dīn's conversion is free from legend in his treatment; other sources sacrifice reality to pretty conjecture.[2] However, the author wrongly states that every Saiyid who migrated to Kashmīr came from Persia (*wilāyat*).

The *Futūhāt-i-Kubravīya* by 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb, completed in 1162/1749, contains a biographical account of almost all the Kubravī and Rishī saints of Kashmīr. It supplements the imfornation recorded by earlier authorities such as Naṣīb, Mishkātī and others. However, the new additions provided by the author are not always reliable and most of them are of legendary nature. For example the story of Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī's confrontation with Tīmūr, as described by him, is legendary and has no historical significand.[3]

Wahhāb's evaluation of the Kubravīya saints is exaggerated and prejudicted. According to him, when Mīr Muḥammad visited Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn, the latter accepted him as his preceptor. The earlier sources who have recorded the meeting of the two saints say nothing about this.[4] The study of the bio-

1. See infra, p, 141.
2. See infra, p. 162.
3. See infra, p. 33, n. 8.
4. See infra, p. 143,

graphies of the Mīr and the Shai*kh* reveal that they belong to two different paths.[1]

It is easy to discern and detect the subjective element in his narrative. It becomes clear that he was mainly concerned with the glorification of the Kubravīyas, and did not wish to accept the separate identity of the Rishī order.

In presenting the story of the conflict between Mīr Muḥammad and Saiyid Ḥiṣārī, Wahhāb takes sides with the former, and does not make an objective assessment of the situation.[2]

Wahhāb is the first authority to reproduce in full (in his work *Futūḥāt-ī-Kubravīya*) the *Waṣīyat-Nāmā* of Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī, which he had written for his son, Mīr Muḥammad, and also the first to use the *Waqf-Nāmā* of the Khānqāh-i-Mu'llā, Srīnagar. As pointed out earlier[3] the authenticity of tuese documents is uncertain. However, the latter helps us to form some idea of the working of the Khānqāh.

Again, Wahhāb is the first authority to refer to the letter which Mīr Shamsu'd-Dīn 'Irāqī, the founder of the Isnā 'Asharī Shī'ī sect in Kashmīr, is said to have written to Shai*kh* Fatḥu'l-lāh, a Kubravī saint of Kashmīr, and the lattea's reply.[4] Such bits of information are revealing and valuable as they throw some light on the conflect between Ṣufīs and the Shī'ī's.

Among the biographers of Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī, Wahhāb is the only authority to record the sixteen treatises by the Saiyid, and he pointedly refers to the Zakhīratu'l-*Mulṇk.*[5]

The *Tārikh-i-Hasan*, by Pīr Ḥasan (d. 1898) is a mine of information about the political, religious and cultural life of Kashmīr. The list of sources given by Ḥasan includes many wotks which are now unknown and untraceable.

1. See infra, p. 143.
2. See infra, pp. 102-3.
3. See supra, p. xviii.
4. See infra, p. 218.
5. See infra, p. 40. n. 2.

The author adds a large number of anecdotes and legends which are not found in the earlier works. He has also tried to fill in the gaps by incorporating some unauthenticated facts which were floating down in the stream of time. The sayings and the verses of various Ṣūfīs, such as Saiyid Muḥammad Admīn and Shai*kh* Nūru'd-Dīn, have also been recorded. The sayings of the Shai*kh* are reproduced in the Kashmīrī language of the time whereas they have been rendered into Persian in the works of Naṣīb and Mishkātī.

Although we cannot rely upon the new information supplied by Ḥasan without examining its credibility very thoroughly, we may extract much new material to reconsider our judgements.

The three other works which deserve our attention are: *Dastūr'us-Sālikīn*, by Bābā Dāwud *Kh*ākī (completed in 962/1555), *Chillatu'l-'Ārifīn*, by *Kh*awāja Isḥāq Qārī' (completed in 982/1575), and *Hidāyatu'l-Mukhlisīn*, by Ḥaidar Tulmūlī (completed in 997/1589). They are biographies of Shai*kh* Ḥamza, a prominent Suhrawardī saint of Kashmīr.[1]

All three authors were direct disciples of Shai*kh* Ḥamza, but their works are not of equal importance. Both Qārī' and Ḥaidar generally base their accounts on the *Dastūr's-Salikīn* of *Kh*ākī, who was more intimately associated with Shai*kh* Ḥamza, and had better access to information about him.

All three works are overlaid with legendary material, and offer a remarkable catalogue of the miracles of their hero. Thus we are told that how the Shai*kh*'s power healed the sick and dying in the face of the failure of medical knowledge.

However, the sayings of Shai*kh* Ḥamza recorded by them are almost ideatical. These sayings are very valuable because they help us to determine the authenticity of the anecdotal material given by them and other scholars in the biography of the Shai*kh*.

The political chronicle of Kashmīr, both in Sanskrit and Persian, also contain value information about the

1. Cf. infra, pp. 20-24 for his biography.

leading Ṣūfīs of that country. The most outstanding among them are the versions of the *Rājatarṅgiṇi* by Jonarāja and Shrīvara, both in Sanskrit, the *Bahāristān-i-Shāhī* (anonymous), the *Tārikh-i-Kashmīr* by Ḥasan bin 'Alī, and the *Tārikh-i-Kashmīr* by Ḥaidar Malik, all in Persian.

Jonarāja, who flourished during Sul*t*ān Zain'ul-'Ābidīn's time (1420-70), gives an important account of the establishment of Muslim rule in Kashmīr and Mīr Muḥammad's influence over Sul*t*ān Sikandar.[1] He also throws light on the attitude of Sul*t*ān Sikandar and Zainu'l-'Ābidīn towards the Ṣūfīs. His passing reference to Shai*kh* Nūru'd-Dīn's harassment by the orthodox Mulims is very informative.[2]

Being contemporary, Jonarāja's account is reliable. However, sometimes he is carried away by his prejudices. For example, his story that Rinchana, originally a Buddhist, was refused initiation into Hinduism is concocted.[3]

Shrīvara, the pupil of Jonarāja, continued the account of Muslim rule in Kashmīr from 1459 to 1486. He throws light on the activities of the Baihaqī Saiyids. However, his most useful and interesting contribution is his account of the cultural conquest of Kashmīr by the Irānian immigrants.

The Persian chronicles mentioned above were all written after the fall of Kashmīr to the Mu*gh*als. Describing the importance of these works, Muḥibbu'l-Ḥassan remarks: "In spite of this [that they were composed after the Mu*gh*al conquest of Kashmīr] they are very important and must be regarded as original sources, because their authors had passed their childhood and youth in the times of the later Shāh Mīrs and the Chaks, and wrote either from personal observation or utilized the accounts of earlier authorities [for example the works of Mullā Aḥamad and Mullā Nādirī] which are not known to exist".[4]

1. Cf. infra, p. 101.
2. Cf. infra, p. 158.
3. Cf. infra, pp. 8-9.
4. *Sultāns*, p. 5.

Although it is not certain that the author of the *Bahāristān-i-Shāhī*, who wrote the work in 1516, passed his childhood and youth in the times of the later Shāh Mīrs (1339-1561) and the Chaks (1561-87), as Muḥibbu'l-Ḥasan says, the *Bahāristān-i-Shāhī* and other later works such as these of Ḥasan bin 'Alī and Ḥaidar Malik are very important historical sources of the period. The freedom of expression which the authors enjoyed under Akbar and Jahāngir did not prevent them from voicing their nostalgic feelings for the chaotic but perhaps freer past.

Both Ḥasan bin 'Alī and Ḥaidar Malik closely follow the *Bahāristān-i-Shāhī*. The events which took place during the early Muslim rule in Kashmīr described by all three authorities are identical. However, towards the end of the sixteenth century we notice some differences in their narratives.

The account they give of the Ṣūfīs is more or less free of legends. In fact they act as correctives to the wrong impression created by the hagiological literature, for example when it suggests that Saiyid 'Alī wielded great influence over Sulṭān Quṭbu'd-Dīn of Kashmīr. But it is from these political chronicles that we come to know that the Saiyid and the Sulṭān were basically in disagreement with each other on many issues.[1]

It is to be noted that those modern scholars who claim to have used these chronicles do not refer to the conflict between the Saiyid and the Sulṭān.[2]

The statements of all these Persian chronicles about various religious conflicts are generally impartial, but they do not fail to criticise the anti-Shī'ī activities of Mirzā Ḥaidar, or Yā'qūb Shāh's intolerant attitude towards the Sunnīs.

Among the later historians who have supplied valuable information about the Ṣūfīs of Kashmīr, Muḥammad A'ẓam particularly deserves to be noted. A'ẓam's work, *Tārīkh-i-A'ẓamī* (completed in 1160/1747) was published at Lahore in 1303/1885. The author generally corroborates the accounts of

1. Cf. infra, p. 39.
2. For example, Muḥibu'l-Ḥasan's *Kashmīr under the Sulṭāns* and Parmu's *History of Muslim rule in Kashmīr*.

the *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr* by Saiyid 'Alī, the *Rishī-Nāma* by Naṣīb, and Mishkatī's *Asrāru'l-Abrār*. Little legendary material is given. Muḥammad A'ẓamī is the first to recognise the Sanskrit origin of the word *rishī*.[1] The *Tārīkh-i-A'ẓamī* also contains some of thc verses of Ṣūfīs not recorded in earlier sonrces. However, it over-estimates the role of some of the Ṣūfīs in the Mughal Conquest of Kashmīr.[2] Almost all modern scholars who have written about Kashmīr have drawn heavily upon this work.

Some other chronicles, such as the *Gauhar-i-'Ālam* by Muhammad Aslām (completed in 1200/1785), the *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr* by Birbal Kachrū (completed in 1252/1835), and the *Tārīkh-i-Kabir* by Muḥīyu'd-Dīn Miskīn (completed in 1321 1903), have also been used but only where corroborative or confirmative evidence is availablh from other sources.[3]

1. Cf. infra, p. 135.
2. Cf. infra. pp. 233-236.
3. A detailed description of the primary sources used in the present work is given in Appendix F.

(II)

Themes of Kashmīrī Sufism in relation to the general history and development of Sufism

It is neither proper nor possible to deal here extensively with the development and growth of Sufism outside Kashmīr. But we should make a very brief reference to it to provide a background for our exposition of Kashmīrī Sufism.

Much has been said, both by traditional Muslim scholars[1] and modern scholars[2] of Sufism on the derivation of the word 'Ṣūfī'. Different opinions were put forward and its derivation was sought by some from *ṣafā* (purify), *aṣḥāb-i-ṣuffā* (people of the bench) and even from the Greek *sophia* (wisdom). Some masters even suggested that 'Ṣūfī' is a word too exalted to be derived from anything.[3]

1. Most of the Ṣūfī scholars faaour the theory that the word 'Ṣūfī' is derived from *ṣafā*. Others conneeted it with *ṣaff-i-awal*. But Qushairī and some others believe that none of these explanations satisfy the requirements of etymology.

   However, Hujwīrī *Kashf*, p. 34) says that, "The name has no derivation answering to etymological requirements inasmuch as Ṣufism is too exalted to have any genus from which it might be derived; for the derivation of one thing from another demands homogeneity (*mujānasat*)"; *Kashf*, p. 34.

   Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj is of the opinion that the word 'Ṣūfī' was derived from *ṣūf* (wool), for woollen raiment was the habit of the prophets and the badge of the saints; Nicholson, art., "Ṣūfis", *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, XII. p. 12; L. Massignon, art., "Taṣawwuf", *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Shorter), pp. 579-80. See also Arberry, *The Doctrine of the Ṣūfīs*, chapt r entitled "How the Ṣūfīs account for their being called Ṣūfīs"; *Kashf*, p. 30ff.

2. Concerning the various meanings given to the term "Ṣūfī", see Nicholson, "An Historical Enquiry concerning the Origin and Development of Ṣūfis", *Journal Royal Asiatic Society* (London), 1996, p. 303ff; S. Rahman, "Ṣūfism and Islam", *Islamic Culture*, I, 1927, p. 640; Mir Valiuddin, *The Quranic Suffism*, p. 1ff.

3. Cf. *Kashf.*, p. 34.

However, it is now gererally recognised that the term was derived from *Ṣūf* (wool) and was applied to those Muslim holy men who wore woolen garments and devoted themselves to a life of self-renunciation, living in poverty and giving their time to prayer and meditation, who were thus called Sufīs.[1]

Introducing Sufism and the Ṣūfīs in *The Mystics of Islam,* Professor R.A. Nicholson rightly says :[2]

> The Ṣūfīs are not a sect, they have no dogmatic system, the *ṭarīqas* or paths by which they seek God "are in number as the souls of men" and vary infinitely, though a family likeness may be traced in them all. Descriptions of such a protean phenomenon must differ widely from one another, and the impression produced in each case will depend on the choice of materials and the prominence given to this or that aspect of the many sided myth.

Although the Prophet discouraged monkish austerity[3] and escapism, the Ṣūfīs interpret some verses of the Qur'ān[4] and

1. The derivation of the word *ṣūf* appears to be correct and the expression sound from the etymological point of view. Nöldeke (*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft,* XLVIII, p. 45) has shown conclusively that the name was derived from *ṣūf*; Cf. *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Shorter), p. 579. See also Arberry, *Sufism,* p. 35; Margaret Smith, *Readings from the Mystics of Islam,* pp. 2-3; Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam,* p. 3.
2. P. 27.
3. Ibid., p. 5.
4. Cf. Qur'ān. 2:24, 182; 29:19; 50:15; 51:20, 21.

   Ṣūfī commentaries on the Qu'ān were written by, among others, ʿAbdu'l-Raḥman b. Musā a's-Sulāmi al Azadi an-Nishāpūrī (*Al-Ḥnda'iq Fi't Tafsīr*); Abu'l-Qāsim Abu'l Karīm b. 'Abdu'l Malik b. Tahah b. Muḥammad al-Qushairī (*Latīfu'l-Ishrat*); Abu Muḥammad Ruzbihān b. Naṣr al-Baqlī a's-Ṣūfī a'sh Shrāzī (*Arā'isu'l-Bayān fi Haqā'iq al-Qur'ān*); and Najmu'd-Dīa Abū Bakr 'Abdu'l-Lāh b. Muḥmmad al Asadī ar-Razī (*Baḥru'l-Hoqā'iq wa'l Ma'ānī*). See also, Rahman, op. cit., p. 648, Mīr Valiuddin, *Quranic Sufism,* p. 6ff.

   Among the few well known Western scholars who have conceded the Quranic origin of Sufism, one can name Morgoliouth and especi-

the traditions[1] of Muhammad in such a way as to prove that Sufism is the reality and essence of Islam.

The political, economic, social and personal factors that led to the birth and growth of Sufism were multifarious.[2]

Firstly the basis of Sufism may be sought in the human aspiration to a personal direct approach to, and a more intense experience of, the Supreme Being and the religious truth. A strong religious emotion could not be satisfied by any formal approach to the Ultimate Reality.

Secondly, Sufism represents a reaction against over-intellectualism, formalism and hair-splitting theology. People who yearned for a direct and natural approach towards Islam turned mainly to its spiritual and devotional aspects.

Thirdly, the spiritual movement in Islam was the result of an inner rebellion of conscience against the social injustices which followed after the Umaiyads came to power.[3]

To these may also be added the circumstances that gave rise to tensions and conflicts in Kufā and Baṣrā, where Islamic mysticism is believed to have started.[4]

ally Massignon and Corbin; whereas most other famous scholors, like Horten, Nicholson, Asin Palacios, Zaehner and Arberry have posed a Hindu, Neoplatonic, Christian, or Zoroastrian origin for Sufism.

Massignon, in his monumental work *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane* (p. 84), says : "It is from the Qur'ān, constantly recited, meditated, practised, that Istamic mysticism proceeds, in its origin and in its development. Based on the frequent re-reading and recitation of a text considered as sacred, Islamic mysticism derived therefrom its distinctive characteristics"; cited by Arberry, *An Introduction to the History of Sufism*, p. 49.

1. Cf. Nicholson, *The Idea of Personality in Sufism*, p. 7; *The Mystics of Islam*, p. 23; Arberry, *Sufism*, pp. 25-26; M.M. Zahuru'd-Dīn Ahmad, *An Examination of the Mystic tendencies in Islam in the light of the Qur'ān and traditions*.
2. Cf. Margaret Smith, *Readings from the Mystics of Islam*, p. 1; Nicholson, *The Idea of Personality in Sufism*, pp. 7-9; *The Mystics of Islam*, p. 4 ff.; see also, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, XII, p. 11.
3. Cf. Arberey, *Sufism*, pp. 32-33.
4. Cf. Ibid., p. 35; *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, XII, p 11; *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Shorter), p. 580.

Sufism in general is not a theoretical and formalist approach to religion but demands devotion to God, love, and renunciation in order to reach the goal generally described by the Ṣūfīs as *fanā* and *baqā*.[1]

Broadly speaking there were three distinct stages in the development and growth of the mystic movement in Islam—the periods of the quietists, the mystic thinkers, and the *silsilas*.

During the period of the quietists the mystic movement had an individual basis. People such as Abū Zarr *Gh*ifāri[2] and Ḥasan Baṣri,[3] dissatisfied with the political and economic development of the expanding Arab Empire of the first century of Islam, cut themselves off from wordly attachments and preferred seclusion. Then with the Ṣūfīs such as Rābi'a (713 or 717-801)[4] the element of love was introduced into Sufism. God was not worshipped now to seek gains in the next world but for His Love alone. "I have served Him", Rabi'a is reported to have said, "only for the love of Him and out of desire for Him".

1. For the definition of the terms see infra, pp. 47-48.
2. A companion of the Prophet, who died in al-Rabaza in the neighbourhood of Medina, whither he had retired in the year 32 or 33/653. It is principally on account of his ascesic tendencies that he became, in the later traditions of the Ṣūfīs and Shī'is, who relate many stories about him, a model for pious Muslims; *Encyclopaedia of Islām*, I, pp. 114-15.
3. He was born in 21/642 and later he settled in Baṣrā. "He exercised a lasting influence on the development of Sufism, by his ascetic piety which shone all the more by contrast, as by his time a worldly spirit had penetrated all classes in Islam. Numerous pious sayings are placed on his lips and the Ṣūfīs see in him a predecessor, whom they quote as often, as do the orthodox Sunnīs." He died on 1 Rajab, 110/10 October, 728. *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (N), II, p. 273.
4. The "saint par excellence of the Sunnite hagiology" is highly respected for her inculcating penitence, gratitude, holy fear, voluntary poverty and utter dependence (*tawakkul*) upon God. When in a dream the Prophet asked her whether she loved him, her reply was : "My love for God has so possessed me that no place remains for hating aught or loving any save Him". Cf. Margaret Smith, *Rabia the Mystic and her Fellow Saints in Islam*.

By the time of Muḥāsabī (781-857)[1] some literature on Sufism had emerged, to give it a theoretical basis. The *Risāla* of Qushairī gives the broad framework of Sufism.[2] With it Sufism enters into its second stage of development. It seeks to defend itself from the onslaught of the *'ulamā* and other critics of its system. Sufism found a new impetus with the works of Ghazālī whose prestige as an *'ālim* enhanced respect for Sufism among orthodox Muslims.[3] Ghazālī's *Iḥyā 'Ulūm al-Dīn* in Arabic, and his *Kīmiyā'i-Sa'ādat* in Persian settled many controversies about Reality, the nature of Being and other controversial topics.

Ibn 'Arabī (1165-1240), who defined *Waḥdatu'l-Wujūd* (Unity of Being)[4] in his monumental *Fuṣūs al-Ḥikam,* gave a

1. He was born at Baṣrā and educated at Baghdād, where he gained a thorough knowledge of theology and philosophy, as well as of Sufism. He is the author of some of the earliest works on Sufism. He is also well known for his method of examining the conscience; Margaret Smith, *Readings from the Mystics of Islam*, p. 14.
2. Cf. Arberry, *Sufism*, p. 74; *Revelation and Reason in Islam*, p. 108.
3. Ibid., p. 74; ibid., chapter III; *The Mystics of Islam*, pp. 24-25.
4. He emphasized that Reality is one and indivisible. The creative power of God acts through His servant who is a locus (*maḥal*) on which this power is focussed. He says : "The believer praises the God who is in his form of belief and with whom he has connected himself, and to praise the work is to praise the maker of it; its excellence or imperfection belongs to its maker. For this reason he blames the beliefs of others, which he would not do if he were just. Beyond doubt, the worshipper of this particular God shows ignorance when he criticizes others on account of their beliefs. If he understood the saying of Junayd, 'The colour of the water is the colour of the vessel containing it,' he would not interfere with the beliefs of others, but would perceive God in every form and in every belief. He has opinion, not knowledge : therefore God said, 'I am in My servant's opinion of Me', i.e., 'I do not manifest Myself to him save in the form of his belief'. God is absolute or restricted, as He pleases; and the God of religious beliefs is subject to limitation, for He is the God is not contained in the heart of His servant. But the absolute God who is contained by anything, for He is the being of all things and the Being of Himself, and a thing is not said either to contain itself or not to contain itself"; Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, p. 159. For a detailed study on the subject see A.E. Afifi, *The Mystical Philosophy of Muḥyiddīn-Ibnul 'Arabī*, and Henry Corbin, *L'Imagination créatrice dans le Soufisme d'Ibn 'Arabi.*

new basis to Ṣūfī thought which had far-reaching practical influence.

By the eleventh century A.D. the Ṣūfīs had organised themselves on the pattern of the Christian mystics and Buddhist monks. Their monasteries, known as kh*ānqāhs*, became the centre of the spiritual activities of the Ṣūfīs, who in earlier centuries had lived a solitary and unorganized life.

The origin of the kh*ānqāh* or monastery in Sufism is not precisely known, but the traditions ascribed to the great mystic Shai*kh* Abu Sa'īd bin Abu'l-*Kh*air[1] tend to show that the rules of kh*ānqāh* life had evolved by this time. He laid down the following rules for the kh*ānqāhs* :[2]

> Let them keep their garments clean and themselves always pure.
>
> Let them not sit in the mosque or in any holy place for the sake of gossiping.
>
> In the first instance let them perform their prayers in common.
>
> Let them pray much at night.
>
> At dawn let them ask forgiveness of God and call into Him.
>
> In the morning let them read as much of the Koran as they can, and let them not talk until the sun has risen.
>
> Between evening prayers and bedtime prayers let them occupy themselves with repeating some litany (*wirdī ū* dh*ikrī*).
>
> Let them welcome the poor and needy and all who join their company, and let them bear patiently the trouble of (waiting upon) them.
>
> Let them not eat anything save in participation with one another.

1. He was born at Mayhana, in *Kh*urāsān, on 1 Muḥarram, 357/7 December, 967. Abu Sa'īd learnt the rudiments af Islamic education and Sufism from Abu Sa'īd Ayyārī and Abu'l-Qāsim Bishrī Yāsīn, both of Mayhana. Abu Sa'īd is known as the author of many mystical quatrains He was a great teacher and preacher of Sufism. He died at his native place on 4 Sha'bān, 440/12 January, 1049; Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism.*

2. Ibid., p. 46.

Let them not absent themselves without receiving permission from one another.

Furthermore, let them spend their hours of leisure in one of three things : either in the study of theology or in some devotional exercise (*wirdī*) or in bringing comfort to some one. Whosoever loves this community and helps them as much as he can is a sharer in their merit and future recompense.

The third and most important phase of the development of Sufism was the organization of the Ṣūfīs into *Silsilas*. Although the early Ṣūfīs led a life of renunciation, giving themselves up to devotion and meditation and prayer, they also spent time in offering spiritual guidance, either alone or in groups, to those who sought it.[1] The orders of the Ṣūfīs described in Hujwīrī's *Kashfu'l-Maḥjūb* seem to have emerged into new orders[2] with prominent figures such as Shai*kh* 'Abdu-'l-Qādir Jilānī (1078-1166),[3] Shai*kh* Najmu'd-Dīn Kubrā (1145-1221)[4] and Shai*kh* Shihābu'd-Dīn Suhrawardī (1144-1234)[5] at their head. The works of these Ṣūfīs, who became the founders of the new orders which developed in their names became the main textbooks for their disciples. *'Awārifu'l-Ma'ārif,* written by Shai*kh* Shihābu'd-Dīn Suhrawardī, is a most comprehensive work and was widely read and drawn upon for guidance by the Ṣūfīs.

The development of khā*nqāhs* and *silsilas* is marked by the evolution of Ṣūfī practices such as relations between *pīr* (preceptor) and *murīd* (disciple) and rules for guiding the desciples.[6] Each *silsila* evolved its own broad framework for

1. Concerning the Ṣūfī orders, see the article on "Tarīka" in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* by Massignon, and the classic work of O. Depont and X. Coppolani, *Les Confrerries religieuses musulmanes.* See also Arberry, *Sufism*, p. 84ff.
2. Hujwīrī mentions twelve of them which were named after their founders; *Kashf*, pp. 130, 176-266.
3. See infra, pp. 129-30.
4. See infra, pp. 28-29.
5. See infra, p. 16.
6. Cf. Arberry, *Sufism*, p. 85.

imparting guidance and a code of behaviour for the disciples. Although this imposed considerable rigidity upon Sufism, it generally prevented individual Ṣūfī from becoming victims of charlatans and their practices.

Although the rise and dominance of the Mongols over Central Asia and Persia gave a rude shock to the Islamic world, Sufism came to the rescue and fortified men's moral courage and prepared them to face the calamities befalling them.[1]

Their main instrument of expression was poetry, which could be interpreted allegorically in a variety of ways without offending anyone. 'Aṭṭār (traditionally 1119-1230) and Rūmī (1207-1273) were the best preceptors of their time. They encouraged peaceful co-existence, exalted the virtues of amity and love, and spoke of the brotherhood of all mankind rather than of Muslims alone. Of Rūmī's great work, *Maṣnawī*, it is rightly said that it is "The Qur'ān in Persian" (*hast Qur'ān dar zabān-i-Pahlawī*).[2]

The Islamization of the Ilkhānid Mongols, however, encouraged the Muslims living under their rule to imagine that they were once again the chosen people of God and destined to dominate the world. Both the *'ulamā* and the Ṣūfīs set themselves the task of purifying Islam from the accretions which they considered unauthorised by the holy law.[3]

The most outstanding Ṣūfī personality of this time was Shai*kh* 'Alā'u'd-Daula Simnānī (d. 736/1336).[4] He strongly opposed the doctrine of *Waḥdatu'l-Wujūd* of Ibn-i 'Arabi.[5]

1. Cf. M. Molé, "Les Kubrawiya entre Sunnisme et Shī'isme aux huitième et neuvième siècles de l'hégire", *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, XXIX, 1961, p. 79.
2. Cited by S.A.A. Rizvi, *Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, p. 6.
3. Cf. ibid., p. 37ff.
4. See infra, p. 30.
5. Cf. *Chihil-Majlis*, f. 164a-b. See also Molé, op. cit., p. 82; Rizvi, op. cit., p. 37; H. Landolt, Simnānī on *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* in *Wisdom of Persia Series* IV, edited by Mehdi Mohag*h*eg*h* and Toshiko Izutsu (Tehran 1971), pp. 91-112; E. I, I., pp. 346-47.

'Ala'u'd-Daula, who had served the Il*khā*n Arghūn (1284-1291) for some time, lamented later that he had given up Government service, because he believed that he could have served God better by serving the ruler. According to him, the duty of a Ṣūfīs was to preach,[1] and he claimed to have defeated the Buddhists in every religious discussion he held with them.[2]

'Alā'u'd-Daula's teachings had a serious impact on the thinking of a section of the Ṣūfīs and changed the tone of their writings.[3] Some of these holy men set aside the idea of universal brotherhood in favour of the narrower Islamic brotherhood, styled *futawwā*; they unearthed and refurbished Islamic legends tending to enhance the early glories of Islam, or widen yet further the contacts allegedly had by the Prophet with men from all over the world, with a view to suggesting that it was mere preverse obstinancy which prevented nations whose representatives had already had the honour of conversation with the Prophet from aceepting Islam. With this in mind, they propagated the legend of Bābā Ratan, an alleged Indian who, prompted by a dream, travelled to Arabia and received the honour of conversion at Mecca from the Prophet's own hand.[4] They argued the importance of dreams upon the faithful, as a method of communication of the divine will from heaven to mankind.[5]

Ṣūfīs and the background of the Bhakti

At the same time, in India, the well known tales of controversies between Ṣūfīs and Yogis began to emerge. The archetype seems to be the levitation of the Yogi, as a proof of his supernatural power; the Ṣūfī flings his slipper and brings him down; the superior spiritual power of the Ṣūfī is thus proved.[6] Spurious biographies of saints, and compilations

1. See infra, p. 30.
2. Cf. *Chihil-Majlis*, ff. 138b-159b. See also Molé, op. cit., p. 84.
3. Cf. Rizvi, op. cit., p. 42.
4. Cf. *Chihil-Majlis*, f. ; *K.M.*, pp. 531-32. See also *T.Ks.*, f. 11a.
5. Cf. Meier, "Die Welt der Urbilder bei 'Alī Hamadānī", *Ernos-Jahrbuch*, XVIII, 1950.
6. See infra, p. 37.

purporting to reproduce their conversations, also begin to appear; the influence of this literary genre, which multiplied in the fifteenth century, has not yet ceased to work in some quarters.

However, the Indian Ṣufī literature of this period seems favourably impressed by the description of the Unity of Being given by the Nāth Yogis.[1] Several anecdotes related by eminent Ṣūfīs, such as Shai*kh* 'Aḥmad 'Abdu'l Ḥaq of Rudaulī (d. 1434), suggest that Yogis had ethical qualities far superior to those possessed by many Ṣūfīs.[2] Those Ṣūfīs who wrote Hindi verses began to adopt Nāth Panthī styles of expression and even Nāth Panthī themes.[3]

This interaction created a favourable climate for the development of the *Sant* literature in Hindawī, or the regional dialects of India, which is in effect the literature of the fifteenth and sixteenth century Bhaktī movement in nothern India, and which shows the mutual influence of Hindu Saints and Indian Ṣūfīs. It would therefore be wrong to emphasise any particular person's role in promoting this or that particular development in the popular devotional development literature of northern India before the time of Kabīr (1440-1518). Similarly, it is impossible adequately to estimate the degree of any individual's influence, even in the case of Kabīr and Nānak (1469-1538),[4] over both of whom grave differences of opinion persist to this day.

Ideological Framework of Kashmīrī Ṣūfīs and its main Themes

Sufism reached Kashmīr after it had entered the last and most important phase of its history—the organization of *khānqāhs* and *silsilas*. Almost simultaneously with the foundation of Muslim rule in Kashmīr (720/1320), Sufism was introduced there. But real and continuous Ṣūfī activities began only towards the end of the fourteenth century. Henceforward

1. Cf. S.A.A. Rizvi, "Ṣūfīs and Nātha Yogīs in Mediaeval Northern India (XII to VI Centuries)". *The Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia*, VII, 1970, p. 130. See also *Rushd-Nāmā*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p. VIII.
2. Cf. ibid., . See also *The Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia*, VII, p. 127.
3. Ibid., pp. 128, 129.
4. Cf. W.H. Macleod, *Gurū Nānak and the Sikh Religion*.

Ṣufīs of outstanding personality, like Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī,[1] Mīr Muḥammad,[2] Saiyid Jamālu'd-Dīn Bu*kh*ārī[3] and Saiyid Ismā'īl Shāmī,[4] began to enter Kashmīr in quick succession.

Although in their organizational and devotional practices they differed from each other, their ideological framework was based mainly on the works of Ibn 'Arabī, and they seem to have taken little notice of Shai*kh* 'Ala'u'd-Daula's criticism of *Waḥdatu'l-Wujūd.* It seems that the traditions of Najmu'd-Dīn Kubrā were too strong for Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī to break by carving out a line of action based on Shai*kh* 'Ala'u'd-Daula Simnānī's opposition of *Waḥdatu'l-Wajūd.*

However, Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī and other Ṣūfīs who came to Kashmīr were deeply impressed with the teachings of Shai*kh* 'Alā'u'd-Daula Simnānī upon the missionary activities which he expected Ṣūfīs to perform.

The period when Ṣūfīs from Persia and Central Asia began to pour into Kashmīr synchronized with the development of an indigenous Ṣūfī order known as the Rishī order,[5] which encouraged a life of peaceful co-existence with all human beings. This divided Sufism in Kashmīr into two different broad trends; the orthodox trend was generally followed by the Ṣūfīs who migrated from Persia and Central Asia, while the Rishīs, mostly native, practised a broadly based system of co-existence.

The orthodox attracted the intellectual element; fortified by their superior ability in the literary arts, they served the rulers, whether at court or in the administrative branches. Their main concern appears to have been to help the administration, and make it an instrument in propagating Islam.

Ṣūfīs and the Shī'īs

The orthodox approach of the Ṣūfīs as regards conformity with the Sunnī traditions is reflected somewhat in their

1. See for his biography and teachings, infra, p. 31 ff.
2. See for his biography, infra, p. 98 ff.
3. See for his biography, infra, p. 20.
4. See for his biography, infra, pp. 131-32.
5. See infra, chapters VI and VII.

struggle against Shī'ism, which was first introduced in Kashmīr towards the beginning of the sixteenth century.[1] In the early centuries of Islam the development of both Sufism and Shī'ism took place in parallel streams. Both were the victims of persecution by the orthodox elements attached to the Umaiyād and the 'Abbāsid courts. Both regarded 'Alī, the fourth Caliph, as the leader of their respective systems.

Shī'īs recognised 'Alī as their first Imām and the rightful successor of the prophet Muḥammad, declaring the first three successors of Muḥammad to be usurpers. The Ṣūfīs generally traced their *silsilas* from 'Alī down to their own times.[2]

The Ismā'īlī activities in twelfth and thirteenth century Persia had disturbed all Ṣūfīs, including Najmu'd-Dīn Kubrā.[3] But this had not made them unsympathetic to the Isna 'Asharī Shī'īs who were not concerned with the political activities of the Ismā'īlīs'. But Ṣūfīs were generally hostile to some of the Isna 'Asharī Shī'ī activities, particularly those reviling the first three caliphs and the Prophet's wife 'Ā'isha.[4] In Kashmīr, too, many Kubravī and Subrawardī saints made strenuous efforts to support the Sunnī cause, which the dominance of Shī'īs in politics in the second half of the sixteenth century had undermined.

Range of Orthodox Ṣūfī and Rishī Activities

The ramifications of the orthodox mind assumed diverse forms. They were reflected in efforts to sustain the contour of the structure of doctrinal Islam. Such activities ranged from building mosques, constructing educatianal institutions, attitudes of respect and patronage for learned divines to systematic inculcation of the virtues, norms and observances of Islam.

The Rishīs' inspiration, on the other hand, was almost wholly popular. They preached love of mankind, and did not

1. See infra, p. 215 ff.
2. Cf. Molé, *Revue des Etndes Islamiques*, XXIX, 1961, p. 72; *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Shorter), p. 582.
3. See Molé, op. cit., for Shī'ī leanings among some leading Kubravīya saints.
4. Cf. ibid., pp. 103-4.

concern themselves with Islamic missionary activities or the establishment of *madrasas*, and kept themselves aloof from the ruling classes. In fact, whether consciously or unconsciously, they stressed values associated with the liberal and generous attitudes of Rūmī. They added elements such as the mortification of the individual soul and hard ascetic exercises borrowed from the Yogis, coupled with hatred of worldly life. They did not claim any Sufic ancestry and did not hesitate to borrow the ideas and practices of the Hindu ascetics, especially those of the Saivites of Kashmīr, with their emphasis on individual salvation and indifference to the fate of others.

The mystical ideas represented in the sayings and practices of the Rishīs make a significant study. From the whole mass of their sayings and practices emanate notions that are characteristically familiar ones in the corresponding local framework. There is a clear attempt by the Rishīs to introduce locally known mystical techniques and formulas.

CHAPTER I

THE ADVENT OF ISLAM IN KASHMĪR

Long before the first Muslim Sultanate, known as the Shāh Mīr dynasty, was established in Kashmīr, Muslims had settled there. The process started as early as the eighth century[1] and was accelerated after the Shāh Mīr dynasty was established in 1339.[2]

However, the Muslim invaders, first Arabs and then Turks, on many occasions, invaded Kashmīr but failed to conquer it. In 713, when Muḥammad bin Qāsim, the Arab general, occupied Multān he marched against "the frontiers of Kashmīr, called Panj Nahiyat."[3] But the threat to Kashmīr was removed for the time being as Muḥammad was recalled by the Caliph Walīd I (705-715) to his court.[4]

Later Hishām bin Amru'l-Taghlībī, the Arab governor of Sind, some time after 140/757-58,[5] made an attempt to conquer the Valley of Kashmīr.[6] But thanks to the protection offered by the mountain ramparts to that country, he failed to penetrate into the Valley.[7]

1. Cf. 'Āli bin Ḥamīd Kūfī, *Chāch-Nāmā*, Eng. tr. K. Mirzā, p. 160.
2. See infra, pp. 12 ff..
3. *Chāch-Nāmā*, p. 192.
   In some copies it is "Panj Māhiyat" (cf. *Chāch-Nāmā*, Eng. tr. H.M. Elliot, *History of India*, I, p. 144), which according to Elliot is situated near the upper course of the river Jehlum, just after it debouches into the plains. *Ibid.*; I, p. 144, n. 3.
4. Cf. *Chāch-Nāmā*, pp. 193-4.
5. Cf. Elliot, op. cit., I, p. 444.
6. Balāzurī, *Futūḥu'l Buldān*, pp. 445-6.
7. The Arab historian Balāzurī (op. cit., p. 446), however, claims that Hishām conquered the Valley. But this is supported by none of the Kashmīri sources. There is no other evidence that an Arab army ever entered Kashmīr. What seems correct is that Hishām conquered the upper plains which frequently were attached to the Kingdom of Kashmīr.

Although the mountains proved barriers to would-be conquerors, they did not prevent adventurers and refugees from entering Kashmīr. 'Alī ibn Ḥamīd Kūfī, for example, states that Muḥammad Alāfī, an Arab mercenary who had served Dāhir[1] (d. 712), sought refuge in Kashmīr.[2] The ruler of Kashmīr Candrāpīḍa, received him well and bestowed on him the territory of Shakalbār.[3] After Alāfī's death, his estate was inherited by one Jehm, who, according to Kūfī, built many mosques there;[4] this means that a sizeable number of Muslims had by that time migrated to Kashmīr.

In the early eleventh century, when the Turks invaded India, the Hindu rule of Kāshmīr was once again threatened, by the Muslim invader Maḥmūd of *Gh*aznī (998-1030). Maḥmūd on two occasions, in 1014 and 1016, invaded Kashmīr, but his efforts to penetrate into the Valley were defied by the strong fortresses of Loharkot[5] and a timely snowfall.[6]

However, according to the statement of Abū'l-fazl Baihaqi,[7] Maḥmūd while in pursuit of Narojaipāl (Trilocanpāl), who had received military assistance from Saṁgrāmrāja, the ruler of Kashmīr (1003-1028), plundered one of the valleys

1. *Chāch-Nāmā*, pp. 55-6.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 160.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 160.
   Shakalbār or 'Shakalba' (cf. Elliot, op. cit., I, p. 178), is identified by Cunningham with "Kuller-Kahar" in the Salt range, which at that time belonged to Kashmir. Cf. *Archaeological Survey of India*, II, p. 192 and V, pp. 79-85.
4. *Chāch-Nāmā*, p. 169.
5. Loharkot or 'Lohkot' (cf. Abū'l-Fazl, *Tārīkh-i-Baihaqī*, I, p. 270), is according to Stein (cf. *R.Tk.*, II, pp. 299), in the modern Loharin (in the Punch Valley). Through Loharin the path leads to Tosmaidān pass, which since earlier times had formed one of the most-frequented routes from the western Punjāb to Kashmīr.
6. *Tārīkh-i-Baihaqī*, I, pp. 270, 350-1.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *R.Tk.*, Eng. tr. M.A. Stein, I, pp. 270-1. See also *Tārīkh-i-Baihaqī*, I, p. 270.

to the south of Kashmīr[1] and converted a large number of people there to Islam.

Kalhaṇa, the author of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, who has also described this invasion of Maḥmūd, does not speak of any conversion. But from the interest which Maḥmūd exhibited in having non-Muslims converted to Islam, the statement of Baihaqī, although probably an exaggeration, should not be taken as entirely untrue.

It is also likely that, finding it difficult to cross the mountains to the plains of India, some of the soldiers of Maḥmūd might have stayed behind and settled in Kashmīr.[2] As it is after these Turkic invasions that Kalhaṇa for the first time, in describing the reign of Harṣa (1089-1111) refers to the presence of Turkic Muslim soldiers in Kashmīr.[3]

Later we find that Bhiksācara (1120-1121) employed Turkic mercenaries to fight against Sussala,[4] whom he had earlier dethroned.[5] Likewise Jayasiṁha (1128-1149) used Muslim soldiers to crush rebellious chiefs.[6]

From the accounts of Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller, it appears that by the end of the thirteenth century there was a colony of Muslims in Kashmīr. He says:

> The people of the province [Kashmīr] do not kill animals nor spill blood; so if they want to eat meat they get the Saracens who dwell among them to play the butcher.[7]

1. Stein identifies this place with "Tohi" in Punch, near the border of present Kashmīr Valley. Cf. *R.Tk.*, I, p. 271n.
2. In 1016, after his second fruitless attempt to enter the Valley, Maḥmūd lost his way for some days on the return journey to *Ghaznā* because of a heavy snowfall. Many of his soldiers lost their lives in the blizzard and he himself had a narrow escape from death ; cf. *Tārīkh-i-Baihaqī*, I, pp. 350-1.
3. Cf. *R.Tk.*, I, p. 357.
4. *Ibid.*, II, p. 70.
5. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 68-9.
6. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 174-5.
7. H. Yule, *Travels of Marco Polo*, I, p. 167.

The Hindu rulers of Kashmīr seem to have been munificent and hospitable to these Muslim soldiers of fortune,[1] who continued pouring into Kashmīr down to the establishment of Muslim rule there. It was one of these adventurers, Shāh Mīr, who established the first Muslim Sultanate in Kashmīr.

The Kashmīrī and the Mughal historians recount different legends about the ancestry of Shāh Mīr. According to Jonarāja, Shāh Mīr was the descendant of Pārtha[2] (Arjuna) of Mahābhārata fame. Abū'l-fazl, Niẓāmu'd-Dīn and Firishta also state that Shāh Mīr traced his descendant to Arjuna.[3] The basis of their account is Jonarāja's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, which was translated into Persian by Mūllā'Abdu'l Qādir Badāūnī, at Akbar's orders.[4]

It is likely that either Jonarāja, in order to glorify the family of his patron (Sulṭān Zainu'l-'Ābidīn, a lineal descendant of Shāh Mīr) or Shāh Mīr after coming to the throne, worked out an apocryphal genealogy connecting himself with the legendary heroes of the past. This was a common practice with rulers and dignitaries of those days. Even Sulṭān *Gh*iyāṣu d-Dīn Balban (1266-1286) claimed to have descended from the Sāsānid rulers of Persia.

According to some Persian chronicles of Kashmīr, Shāh-Mīr was a descendant of the rulers of Swāt.[5] It is most probable that Shāh Mīr's ancestors were of Turkic or Persian

1. Cf. *R. Tk.*, I, p. 357.
2. Muḥibbu'l-*Ḥ*asan wrongly says that Jonarāja is silent on Shāh Mīr's ancestry (*Sulṭāns*, p. 43, n. 1). Jonarāja gives Shāh Mīr's ancestry as follows :

   Pārtha, his son Babhruvāhana, his scion Kurashāha (probably *Kh*wur Shāh), his son Taharāla (Ṭāhir) his son Shāh Mīr. *R. Tj.*, Eng. tr., J.C. Dutt, (*Kings af Kashmīra*, p. 15.
3. *A.A.*, II, p. 184; *T.A.*, Eng. tr. Brajendranath, III, pt. II, p. 633; *Tārikh-i-Firishta*, II, p. 337.

   Niẓāmu'd-Dīn and Firishta give Shāh Mīr's ancestry as : Shāh Mīr, son of Ṭāhir Āl, son of Karshāshāb son of Nekrūz who was a descendant of Arjuna.
4. Cf. Badāūnī. *Muntakhabu'l-Tawārī*kh, pp. 401-402.
5. *B.S*, f. 9b; *T. Km.*, f. 91b; *N.A.*. f. 31b; *T.Az.*, p. 27.

origin and had migrated to Swāt, where they enjoyed political power for some time.

Shāh Mīr arrived in Kashmīr in 1313, along with his family, during the reign of Sūhadeva (1301-1320), in whose service he entered.[1] Sūhadeva granted him the village of Davar-kunail, in the district of Bārāmūla,[2] for his maintenance.[3] In subsequent years, by his tact and ability, Shāh Mīr rose to prominence and became one of the important personalities of the time.[4] After the death of Udayanadeva, the brother of Sūhadeva, he was able to assume the kingship himself and thus laid the foundation of permanent Muslim rule in Kashmīr.

Dissensions among the ruling classes and foreign invasions were the two main factors which contributed towards the establishment of Muslim rule in Kashmīr. Because of the long period of weak reigns and internal troubles the *Lavanyas* and *Dāmaras* (the local chiefs) had become the most powerful element in the Valley.[5] The strongholds of the lands of Kashmīr had become hereditary possessions in the families of these chiefs.[6] They continually rose in rebellion and prevented the growth of a strong centralized government.[7]

Sūhadeva, who came to the throne in 1301, seems to have played these chiefs one against the other and thereby was

1. *R. Tj.*, p. 15; *B.S.*, f. 9b; *T. Az.*, p. 27; *T.H.*, Urdu, tr. M. Ibrāhīm, II, p. 143.
2. *B.S.*, f. 10a.
   It is not possible to identify the village Davar-Kunail. But Bārāmūla, the ancient "Varāhmūla" however is thirty-four miles to the west of Srīnagar.
3. *B.S.*, f. 10a. See also *R. Tj.*, p. 15.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
5. Cf. *R. Tk.*, II, pp. 304ff., for the growth and activities of this class of people in Kashmīr.
6. Long before we find that Lalitāditya (early 8th century) had warned his successors not to leave enough land with these chiefs and to punish them even if they would give no offence. For, if they should keep more wealth, they would become within no time formidable and strong enough to disobey the king; cf. *R. Tk.*, p. 154.
7. Cf. *R. Tj.*, pp. 5-15.

able to establish his authority over the whole of Kashmīr.[1] But at the same time he alienated the Brahmans, the traditional official class, by imposing taxes on them.[2]

Meanwhile in 1320, Zuljū[3] or Zulqadr *Kh*ān,[4] at the head of a large army invaded Kashmīr. The sources are not unanimous about the origin of Zuljū. According to Jonarāja he was a "commander of the army of the great King Karmmasena."[5] It is not possible to identify the King Karmmasena. Elsewhere, however, Jonarāja calls Zuljū "the king of the mlechchhas"[6] which means he was a Muslim.[7]

Abū'l-Fazl is of the opinion that Zuljū was the "chief commander" of the ruler of Qandahār,[8] whereas Niẓāmu'd-Dīn and Firishta call him the *Mīr-Bakhsh* (pay-master general) of Qandahār.[9]

Qandahār, at this time, was in the possession of the Kurt ruler *Gh*iyāṣu'd-Dīn, who was himself a tributary to the Īl*kh*āns of Persia.[10] It is unlikely that he would have sent an army to Kashmīr, as he was himself by this time threatened by the invasion of prince Yasūr.[11]

1. Cf. *R. Tj.*, p. 15.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
3. *B.S.*, f. 106; *T. Km*, f. 77b; *T. Kh.*, f. 92b; *N.A.*, f. 14a; *T. Kk.*, f. 79a. Jonarāja calls him "Dalcha" (*R. Tj.*, p. 16) and Abū'l-Fazl, Nizāmu'd-Dīn and Firishta call him "Diljū"; *A A.*, II, p. 184; *T.A.*, III, pt. II, p. 637; *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, II, p. 338.
4. *T. Ka.*, f. 55a; *T. Az.*, p. 27; *G.A.*, f. 99a; *T.H.*, II, p. 144.
5. *R. Tj.*, p. 16.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 60.
7. Muḥibbu'l-Hasan, while accepting that Zuljū was a Mongol, rejects that he was a Muslim on the grounds that by that time only a few of the Mongols had accepted Islam (*Sulṭāns*, p. 34). But in fact by that time many Mongols including Īl*kh*ān Tegūdar, Naurūz and Ghazān *Kh*ān along with his court had accepted Islam. Even if only a few of the Mongols had accepted Islam by that time, that does not mean that Zuljū was not a Muslim.
8. *A.A.*, II, p. 184.
9. *T.A.*, III, pt. II, p. 637 ; *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, II, p, 346.
10. Cf. H. Howorth, *History of Mongols*, III, p. 569.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 590-1.

The Persian chronicles of Kashmīr assert that Zuljū was a Mongol from Turkistān.[1] This view seems to be correct. The Mongols not only repeatedly invaded Kashmīr, previous to this time, but if we believe Rashīdu'd-Dīn, they even succeeded in temporarily subjugating the country.[2]

The chiefs did not come to the aid of Sūhadeva, and he was left alone to face the invader. He tried to save his kingdom by paying a large sum of money to the Mongols, to withdraw from the country.[3] But this had the contrary effect of increasing Zuljū's appetite for loot and plunder. Sūhadeva himself fled to Kishtwār,[4] leaving the people at the mercy of the invader.[5]

The Mongols flogged, plundered and enslaved the people, burnt down buildings and destroyed crops.[6] After a stay of eight months,[7] Zuljū left the Valley through Banihāl pass,[8] where he perished along with his prisoners in a heavy snowfall.[9] Famine was the natural consequence of the wholesale destruction of the stores of grain and of standing crops by the invading army.[10]

Zuljū's invasion proved a turning point in the history of Kashmīr and contributed towards the establishment of Muslim rule there; for Rinchana rose to power in its aftermath. He

1. *B.S.*, f. 10b; *T. Km.*, f. 77b; *T. Kh.*, ff. 92b-93a; *N.A.*, f. 14a; *T. Kk.*, f. 79a.
2. *Tārīkhu'l-Hind*, p. 22. See also Howorth, op. cit., III, pp. 184-5.
3. *R. Tj.*, p. 16.
4. The ancient "Kasthavata" is to the south-east of Kashmīr.
5. *B.S.*, f. 11a; *T. Kh.*, f. 93a; *T. Ka.*, f. 55a; *N.A.* f. 14b; *T. Az.*, p. 27; *G.A.*, f. 99b; *T. Kk.*, f. 79a-b; *T.H.*, II, p. 144.
6. *R. Tj.*, p. 17; *B.S.*, f. 11a; *T. Kh.*, f. 55a-b; *N.A.*, ff. 14b-15a; *T. Az.*, pp. 27-8; *T. Kk*, f. 80a; *.H.T*, II, p. 144.
7. *B.S.*, f. 11b.
8. 9,200 ft. above the sea. This is the lowest depression in the chain of mountains which surround Kashmīr on the south.
9. *B.S.*, f. 11b-12a; *T.Kh.*, f. 94a; *N.A.*, f. 15b; *T.Az.*, p. 28; *T. Kk.*, f. 80a; *T.H.*, II, pp. 144-5.
10. *R. Tj.*, p. 17; *B.S.*, f. 11b.

was originally from Ladā*kh*[1] were his father had been chief until he was killed by his enemies.[2] Rinchana, also fearing an attack on his life, sought refuge in Kashmīr.[3] There he was employed by Rāmchandra,[4] Sūhadev's commander-in-chief,[5] who had shut himself up in the fort of Lār[6] during Zuljū's invasion.[7] After Zuljū's departure, Rāmchandra tried to establish his own authority,[8] but Rinchana treacherously had him murdered and his family imprisoned and seized power himself.[9] Later he freed Rāwanchandra and Koṭā Rānī, the son and daughter of Rāmchandra, and bestowed the territory of Lār on Rāwanchandra and himself married Koṭā Rānī.[10]

The elevation of Rinchana from the position of a refugee to that of a sovereign clearly shows the anarchy and discord which prevailed in Kashmīr at that time. Rinchana, however, proved an able ruler and restored peace and prosperity to the country.[11]

The most important event of his reign was his conversion to Islam which is variously recorded. According to Jonarāja, Rinchana wanted to become a Hindu, but the Brahman Devasvāmī refused to initiate him into Hinduism, on the

1. *R. Tj.*, p. 16; *B.S.*, f. 10b; *T. Km.*, f. 77b; *T. Kh.*, f. 96a; *A.Ab.*, f. 50a-b; *T.Ka.*, f. 55a; *N.A.*, f. 14a; *T. Kk.*, f. 80a; *G.A.*, f. 101b.
2. *R. Tj.*, p. 16; *T. Ka.*, f. 55a.
3. *R. Tj.*, pp. 16-7; *B.S.*, f. 10b; *T.Km.*, f. 77b; *T. Kh.*, f. 96a; *A.Ab.*, f. 50b; *T.Ka.*, f. 55a; *N.A.*, f. 14a; *G.A.*, f. 101b.
4. *B.S.*, f. 10b; *T. Km.*. f. 77b; *T. Ka* , f. 55a; *N A.*, f. 14a; *T.*H , II, p. 45.
5. *R. Tj.*, p. 18; *B.S.*, f. 9b; *T. Az.*, p 27.
6. Lār is the ancient "Lahara". The route to Ladā*kh* and thence to Central Asia passes through this district which comprises the whole of the valley drained by the river Sind and its tributaries. Cf. *R. Tk.*, II, pp. 17-8.
7. *T. Az.*, p. 27. See also *R. Tj.*, p. 18.
8. *B S.*, f. 12a; *T. Km.*, f. 79b; *T. Kh.*, f. 92b; see also *R. Tj.*, pp. 17-8.
9. *R. Tj.*, p. 18; *B.S.*, ff. 12b-13a; *T.Km.*, f. 80a-b; *T. Kh.*, f. 96a; *T,Ka.*, f. 56a; *N.A.*, f. 15b; *T. Az*, p. 28; *G.A.*, f. 101. a b; *T. Kk.*, f. 80a; *T.H.*, II, p. 146.
10. *Ibid.*
11. Cf. *R. Tj.*, p. 21.

grounds that he was a "Bhotta" (Tibetan Buddhist).[1]

The story seems to have been invented by Jonarāja out of bitterness that Rinchana had accepted Islam. In fact if Rinchana wished to become a Hindu, there should have been no difficulty for him, especially when he was a king. Even if Devasvāmī had refused to initiate Rinchana into Hinduism, he could have asked some other Brahman to do so. Long before Rinchana, Mihirakula of the white Hun stock is said to have been converted to Hinduism in Kashmīr.[2] Moreover, conversion from Buddhism to Hinduism or vice versa was not a new thing.

According to a popular version of the story, supported by most of the medieval Muslim scholars of Kashmīr Rinchana had accepted Islam because of "Divine grace."[3] It is said that after Rinchana came to the throne, he held discusssions with both Hindu and Buddhist priests, in order to ascertain the "Truth", but none could satisfy him. Finally, he decided to accept the religion of the first person whom he should see the next morning. That person was Saiyid Sharafu'd-Dīn, a Suhrawardī saint,[4] who at that time was offering prayers near the royal palace. Rinchana immediately went to him, and after enquiring about his religion, accepted Islam.[5]

On the face of it, the story appears to have been concocted in order to glorify Islam and to establish the miraculous powers of Saiyid Sharafu'd-Dīn. It seems unconvincing that Rinchana, with his inquisitive mind, should have accepted Islam in this way.

What seems more probable is that Rinchana's conversion to Islam was prompted by political reasons. In the absence of

1. *Ibid.*, p. 21.
2. *R. Tk.*, I, pp. 46-7.
3. *B.S.*, f. 15a; *T,Km.*, f. 83a; *A.Ab.*, f. 45a; *N.A.*, f. 16b; *T. Az.*, p. 29; *T.H.* III, p. 4; *T.K.*, p. 6.
4. See for his biography infra, ch. II.
5. *B.S.*, f. 15a-b; *T. Km.*, f. 83a-b; *T. Kh.*, ff. 99a-100b; *A-Ab.*, f 45a; *N A.*, ff. 16b-17a; *T. Az.*, pp. 29-30. Ḥasan and Miskīn do not refer to the discussion which Rinchana is said to have held with Hindu and Buddhist priests.

co-operation from the Hindus, support for Rinchana's newly acquired kingdom could be had only from the Muslims in Kashmīr. It is not, therefore, unlikely that Shāh Mīr, who in Jonarāja's words was : "a lion among men,"[1] persuaded Rinchana to accept Islam. Abū'l Faẕl, the Mug*h*al historian, who made a careful study of the history of Kashmīr, confirms the fact that Rinchana accepted Islam because of his deep intimacy and association with Shāh Mīr, whom he appointed him minister.[2]

The penetration of Islam into the neighbouring countries of Kashmīr,[3] especially the re-establishment of Islam in Persia by *Gh*āzān *Kh*ān in 1245,[4] which was followed by the persecution of Buddhists and other non-Muslims,[5] might have also influenced Rinchana's decision to embrace Islam, particularly when Kashmīr had so recently been invaded by the Mongols.[6]

Thus Rinchana's conversion to Islam must be seen in the wider context, and not just as the result of either the Hindu refusal to take him into their fold[5] or of a chance meeting with Saiyid Sharafu'd-Dīn.[6]

Rinchana or Ṣadru'd-Dīn, the Muslim name which he adopted, died in 1323,[7] and soon after his death Hindu rule was once again established in Kashmīr. His son Ḥaidar,

1. *R. Tj.*, p. 27.
2. *A.A.*, II, p. 184.
3. In India Muslim rule had been firmly established some thirty years before Rinchana's accession to the throne by Shihābu'd Dīn Muḥammad *Gh*orī. Kābul had been subdued (some time between 786 and 813), during Ma'mūnu'l-Rashīd's governorship of *Kh*urāsān and its ruler had later accepted Islam; *Futūḥu'l-Buldān*, p. 402.
4. Rāshīdu'd-Dīn, *Jāmiu'l-Tawārī*kh, II, pp. 900ff.
5. Cf. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 983-4; *Tārikh-i-Mubārak-i-Ghāzānī*, pp. 168-9.
6. See supra, pp. 7-8.
7. Some modern scholars accept the view of Jonarāja that Rinchana was not accepted by Hindus into their fold. Cf. Walter, "Islam in Kashmīr", *Muslim World*, IV, 1914, p. 340; Srikanth Kaul, *Rājataraṅgiṇī of Jonarāja*, Introduction, p. 72.
8. Cf. Muḥibbu'l-*Ḥ*asan, *Sultans*, p. 39.
9. Cf. *R. Tj.*, p. 23.

who was a minor,[1] was not declared the king,[2] instead Koṭā Rānī with the consent of Shāh Mīr[3] recalled Udayanadeva, the brother of Sūhadeva, and made him king.[4] Udayanadeva eventually married Koṭā Rānī[5] and in order to please Shāh Mīr he bestowed the territory of Kramarājya[6] and other districts on the latter's two sons ʿAlī Sher and Jamshed.[7]

According to Jonarāja, royalty was debased when it passed from Rinchana to Udayanadeva.[8] Udayanadeva did not prove himself a competent ruler. He spent most of his time "in bathing, in penance, and in prayer,"[9] and paid very little attention to the administration.[10]

Meanwhile Kashmīr was once again threatened by a foreign invasion. According to Jonarāja the invader was "Achala",[11] whom "the lord of Mugdhapura" supported.[12] It is not possible to identify the latter. The Persian chronicles assert that it was an army of the Turks (*lashkar-i-turk*).[13] Modern scholars[14] have not identified the Turks of Persian chronicles, but it seems that they were Mongols who had

1. *Ibid.*, p. 23; *B.S.*, f. 16a.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 23-4; *Ibid.*, f. 16b.
3. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 24; *Ibid.*, f. 16b.
4. He had fled to Swāt during Zuljū's invasion. *B.S.*, f. 16b.
5. *R. Tj.*, p. 24; *B.S.*, f. 16b.
6. *R. Tj.*, p. 24; *B.S.*, f. 16b.
7. The Valley of Kashmīr has from early times been divided into two great parts—"Kramarājya" and "Maḍavarājya" (cf. *R. Tk.*, II, p. 436). "Kramarājya" the modern Kamāz is that part which is to the west and south-west of Srīnagar.
8. *R. Tj.*, p. 24.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*, p. 25. Persian chronicles call him "Urdil" or "Urwin". *T. Kh.*, f 89b; *T. Ka.*, f. 58b; *T. Az.*, p. 32; *G.A.*, f. 107b; *T.H.*, II, p. 150.
12. *R. Tj.*, p. 25.
13. *B.S.*, f. 17a; *T. Kh.*, f. 89b; *T. Ka.*, f. 58b; *T.Az.*, p. 32; *G.A.*, f. 107; *T.H.*, II, p. 15.
14. Cf. Sūfī. *Kashīr*, I, p. 128; Muḥibbu'l-Ḥasan. *Sulṭāns*, p. 41.

previously invaded the Valley more than once.[1]

However, Udayanadeva fled to Ladā*kh*, leaving Koṭā Rānī to face the invader.[2] With the help of Shāh Mīr and Bhikshṇa,[3] a Hindu noble, she repulsed the enemy.[4] After the enemy withdrew, Udayanadeva returned and regained the throne, but his cowardly flight had greatly impaired his prestige.[5]

His relations with Shāh Mīr also did not remain cordial.[6] Udayanadeva began to suspect the loyalty of Shāh Mīr, who because of the heroic stand against the invader, had become exceedingly popular with the people.[7] This had made him politically ambitious[8] and, as Jonarāja says, he "did not deem the king even as grass."[9]

Shāh Mīr, in order to strengthen his position, had already taken steps to win over the leading chiefs of the country to his side. He bestowed on them his daughter and grand-daughters in marriage,[10] and made large gifts to them.[11]

1. Cf. *Tārīkh u'l-Hind*, p. 22. See also Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, III, pp. 184-5.
2. *R. Tj.*, p. 25; *B.S.*, f. 17a; *T. Ka.*, f. 58b; *G.A.*, f. 107b.
3. The Persian chronicles call him "Pacha Baṭ Kākapūrī".
4. *B S.*, f. 17a; *T. Kh.*, ff. 84b-85a; *T. Ka.*, f. 56b; *N.A.*, f. 20b; *T. Az.*, p. 32; *G.A.*, f. 107b; *T.H.*, II, p. 150.

    Jonarāja gives contradictory statements. At one place he says that "Achala" sent his army back as Koṭā Rānī and others promised him that after doing so, he would be declared the king, but was later imprisoned; (*R.* mj., p. 25). Later he states that "Achala", like "Dalcha" (Zuljū), devasted the whole country. *R. Tj.*, p. 26.
5. *R. Tj.*, p. 25, *B.S.*, f. 17a; *T, Ka.*, f. 58b; *C.A.*, f. 107b.
6. Cf. *R. Tj.*, p. 26.
7. Cf *R. Tj.*, p. 25; *B.S.*, f. 17a; *T. Ka.*, f. 58b; *GA.*, f. 107b.
8. Cf. *R. Tj.*, p. 27.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
10. Shāh Mīr had married his own daughter ("Guhava") to Koṭarāja of "Baringa" (probably the modern village of Breng in the district of Anantnāg), and the daughter of his son 'Alī Sher and that of Jamshed were given in marriage to Lusta, the chieftain of "Sankarapura" (modern Patan, in the district of Bārāmūla; cf. *R. Tk.*, I, p. 206n), and Telak, the chieftain of "Bangila" (modern Bangil in Sopur), respectively ; cf. *R. Tj.*, pp. 26-7. See also *B.S.*, f. 16b.
11. *R. Tj.*, p. 22.

Thus he was waiting for an opportunity to assume the kingship himself.

The opportunity came soon, when Koṭā Rānī, after the death of Udayanadeva in 1338, took the reins of government in her own hands.[1] Realising how ambitious Shāh Mīr was,[2] she raised Bhikshaṇa to prominence as a counterpoise to him,[3] and transferred the capital from Srīnagar, where Shāh Mīr had considerable following, to Andarkot.[4]

The rise of Bhikshaṇa to power was an open challenge to Shāh Mīr. However, he did not make his feelings public,[5] but feigned illness, and "caused it to be known that his end was near."[6] Koṭā Rānī sent Bhikshaṇa, apparently, to see Shāh Mīr,[7] but in fact to find out the real facts. Shāh Mir took the advantage of the opportunity and removed his political rival by assassinating him in his own house.[8]

Later Shāh Mīr sent a proposal of marriage to Koṭā Rānī. She rejected it,[9] perhaps thinking it beneath her dignity to marry a man who had been in her service. Shāh Mīr then, with the help of the chiefs, successfully beseiged the fort of Andarkot. Koṭā Rānī surrendered and accepted Shāh Mīr's marriage proposal.[10]

Shāh Mīr suspected her loyalty, as she had married him

1. *R. Tj.*, p. 28; *B.S.*, f. 17a-b.
2. According to Jonarāja, Koṭā Rānī out of fear of Shāh Mīr had even concealed the death of her husband for four days; *R. Tj.*, p. 28.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*, p. 31; *B.S.*, f. 17b.
   Andarkot is seventeen miles north of Srīnagar, on the left bank of the river Jehlum.
5. "Fire manifests itself by heat and smoke," writes Jonarāja, "but no sign of anger manifested itself in that wise man [Shāh Mīr]". R. *Tj.*, p. 29.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 29,
7. *R. Tj.*, p. 29.
8. *Ibid.* See also *B.S.*, f. 17b.
9. *R. Tj.*, p. 31; *B.S.*, f. 17b.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 31-2; *Ibid* , f. 17b.

under pressure. He therefore imprisoned her[1] and ascended the throne himself in 1339,[2] under the title of Sulṭan Shamsu'd-Din.[3]

Shāh Mīr's coup firmly established the Muslim rule in Kashmīr. The details of the administrative machinery created by Shāh Mīr are not known. What Jonarāja says of his reign is that he "assuaged the troubles of Kashmīr and changed its condition."[4]

Revolutionary changes in the administration were not possible at that time. The Muslim community of Kashmīr was in a minority, with no foreign contact or foreign support. The power remained as before in the hands of the Hindu chiefs, with whose help Shāh Mīr had established himself on the throne.

However, Shāh Mīr, in order to increase the number of his supporters and to check the ambitious chiefs, who were the main cause of confusion and disorder in the regimes proceeding him, patronised[5] ths families of the Chaks[6] and Magres who were of indigenous origin.[7] Jonarāja says that Shāh Mīr made gifts to certain chiefs.[8] It seems that Shāh Mīr assigned *iqṭā's*[9] to his supporters on the pattern of the Turkic Sulṭans of Delhi.

1. *R. Tj.*, p. 432.
2. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 32. Abū'l-Fazl gives Shāh Mīr's date of accession as 742/1341-2 *A.A.*, II, p. 185.
3. *R. Tj.*, p. 32; *B.S.*, f. 18a; *T. Az.*, p. 33.
4. *R. Tj.*, p. 32.
5. *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, II, p. 338; *TH.*, II, p. 151.
6. The Chaks, under their leader Lankar *Thak*, had migrated to Kashmīr from Dardistān during the reign of Sūhadeva. *B.S.*, f. 10a-b; *N A.*, f. 22b; *T.H.*, II, p. 143.
7. Cf. *T. Ks.*, ff. 7a-b; 8b. See also, W.R. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmīr*, p. 306.
8. *R. Tj.*, p. 22.
9. The system of *iqtā's* emerged in the 10th century and crystallized by the time of the Saljūqs. Nizāmu'l-Mūlk, in his *Siyāsat-Nāmā*, gives a detailed description of the *iqṭā's*. They were probably of two types, the military *iqṭā's* were only the assignment of the revenue and not

[contd. on next page]

The administration was modelled on the system prevalent in other Muslim countries, only after a large number of Muslim saints and scholars from Persia and Central Asia had migrated to Kashmir. There were men of talent among them who could rule the government on the lines of the Saljūqī Sultāns of Persia and the Trukic Sulṭāns of Delhi.

[contd. from previous page]

of the proprietory rights or administrative powers. In return, the holders of such *iqṭā's* were required to recruit the army, which was to be paid from the revenue realised from the *iqṭā's*, for the military need of the country. See for full details, J.A. Boyle, *The Cambridge History of Irān*, V, pp. 81-4, 198-9, 231-9, 518-21.

CHAPTER II

THE SUHRAWARDĪ ORDER

Among the well known Ṣūfī orders the first to be introduced in Kashmīr, in the early fourteenth century, was the Suhrawardīya order. It was originally founded by Shai*kh* Ziyā'u'd-Dīn Abū'l-Suhrawardi (d. 1167), the author of the *Ādābū'l-Murīdīn.*[1] It was, however, his nephew and successor, Shai*kh* Shihābu'd-Dīn Abū Hafṣ 'Umar bin Abdu'llāh (1144-1234), who made the order popular. He was an outstanding scholar; of his works[2] the most celebrated is the *'Awārifu'l-Ma'ārif,*[3] which like the *Kashfu'l-Maḥjūb* of Hujwīrī, served as a manual to the Indian Sūfis for many centuries.

One of the lesser known disciples of Shaikh Shihābu'd-Dīn was Shāh Ni'matu'llāh Fārsī,[4] who in his turn initiated Saiyid Sharafu'd-Dīn[5] into Suhrawardī order.[6] Saiyid Sharf-

1. *NU.*, p. 269.
2. His other works include *Kashful'l-Naṣā'iḥ al-Īmānīya wa Kashfu'l Fāzā'-iḥ al-Yūnānīya,* which has been directed against the study of Greek philosophy. Cf. *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* IV, p. 506.
3. It was first published at Cairo in 1888 on the margin of *Iḥya* of Ghazālī.
4. Scholars such as Jāmī and Muḥammad Amīn Rāzī give no account of Ni'matu'llāh. Only the Kashmīrī scholars mention him in their works. See below, no. 5.
5. *N.A.*, f. 17a; *G.A*, f. 101a; *T.H.*, III, p. 4; *T.K.*, p. 4. The author of *B.S.*, and Hasan bin 'Alī and A'Zamī call him Bābā Bulbul (f. 15a; *T.Kh*, f. 100a; *T.Az.*, p. 301). Mishkātī calls him Saiyid Abdu'l-Raḥmān and Kachrū, *Kh*alīl Shāh; *A.Ab*, f. 44a; *T.Kk.*, f. 81a.
6. *B.S.*, f. 15a-b; *N.A.*, f. 17a; *T.Az.*, p. 30, *G.A.*, f. 101b. Mishkātī and Hasan assert that Saiyid Sharafu'd-Dīn was a direct disciple of Shai*kh* Shihābu'd-Dīn Suhrawardī (*A.Ab.*, f. 44a; *T.H.*, III, p. 4). This seems unlikely as there is a difference of almost one hundred years between the death of the Shai*kh* and that of the Saiyid.

fu'd-Dīn was the first to introduce Suhrawardī order into Kashmīr. He was originally from Turkistān,[1] but, as directed by his preceptor,[2] he embarked upon a long journey and travelling through Central Asia and Persia he arrived in Kashmīr during the reign of Sūhadeva.[3]

Saiyid Sharafu'd-Dīn is one of the most celebrated saints of Kashmīr, where he is known as Bulbul Shāh. He is greatly remembered there for having converted Rinchana[4] and his brother-in-law, Rāwanchandra,[5] to Islam. Rinchana seems to have held him in great esteem. He not only granted the revenues of certain villages[6] to Bulbul Shāh for his maintenance, but also built a *Khānqāh* for him near his own palace.[7] A *langar* (alms-house) also appears to have been attached to the *Khānqāh*. Bulbul Shāh died in 727/1326 and was buried in his *khānqāh*[8], now called Bulbul-Langar, in Srīnagar.

With the death of Bulbul Shāh the Suhrawardī order appears to have declined in Kashmīr. None of the sources record anything about his disciples. The silence of the sources does not, however, necessarily mean that the *Khānqāh* of Bulbul Shāh was neglected or deserted, though it seems that he left no disciple outstanding enough to be worth mentioning, and there may have been some decline in its activities.

It was during the reign of Sul*t*ān Zainu'l-'Ābidīn (1420-70) that another Suhrawardī saint, Saiyid Muḥammad Isfa-

1. *A.Ab.*, f. 44a; *T.K.*, p. 6.
2. *G.A.*, f. 105a; *T.H.*, III, p. 4.
3. *A.Ab* , f. 45a; *T.Az.*, p 30; *T H.*, III, p. 4.
4. See *supra*, Ch. I, pp. 9-10.
5. *B.S.*, f a; *T.Km.*, f, 84a; *T.Kh.*, f. 102a; *A.Ab.*, f. 50a; *N.A.*, f. 17b; *T.Az* , p. 30; *T.H.*, II, p. 149; *T.K.*, p. 7.
6. *B.S.*, f 15b; *T.Kh.*, f. 101a; *N A* , f. 18a b; *T.Az.*, p. 30; *T H.*, II p. 149.
7. *B.S.*, f 15b; *T.Kh.*, f. 101a; *A.Ab.*, f. 45b; *N.A.*, f. 18b; *T.Az.*, p. 30; *T H* , II, p. 149.
8. *A.Ab.* *f*,51a; *N.A.*, f. 19b; *T.H.*, III, p. 7; p 7 ; *T. K.*, p. 7.

hānī,[1] arrived in Kashmīr.[2] The Sulṭān received him warmly and gave him a state grant for his maintenance.[3]

Saiyid Muḥammad was the disciple of Saiyid Jalālu'd-Dīn Bukhārī of Uch,[4] popularly called Makhdūm Jahāniyān (1308-84).[5] Unlike his preceptor, Saiyid Muḥammad preferred to live a life of retirement. He first took up residence in Srinagar, but when his fame spread and people flocked around him to seek his blessings, he left the city and retired to the village of Khānpūr.[6] He spent the rest of his life there, applying himself to the most austere spiritual exercises, and came to be known as *jānbāz*[7] (one who stakes his life). Nothing is known about the date of his death or about his disciples.

The next Suhrawardī saint of some eminence was Saiyid Aḥmad Kirmānī. He was originally from Kirmān and before coming to Kashmīr had migrated to India,[8] probably to Uch or Multān, where a large number of Suhrawardīs lived. Like Saiyid Muḥammad Isfahānī, he too belonged to the chain of

1. *T.Ks.*, f. 29a; *K.S.*, f. 13a; *F.K.*, f. 74b; *F.Q.*, f. 200b; *T.K.*, p. 37. Some authorities call, him Saiyid Muḥammad Rifā'ī; *A.Ab*, f. 103a; *T.Az.*, p. 54; *T.H.*, III, p. 40.

2. *A. Ab.*, f. 103a; *T. Az.*, p. 54 ; *F Q.*, f. 200b; *T.H*, III, p. 40; *T K.*, p. 37.

3. Ibid., f. 103a-b ; ibid., p. 54; ibid., f. 200b ; ibid., p. 40 ; ibid., p. 37.

4. *K.S.*, f. 13a; *T.K.*, p. 37. According to Qādirī, Saiyid Muḥammad belonged to the Qādirī order (*F.Q.*, f. 200b). But for him every Muslim saint of Kashmīr was in one way or the other connected with this order.

5. Jalālu'd-Dīn Bukhārī was one of the prominent Suhrawardī saints of India. He led a very active life and served as *Shaikhu'l-Islam* for some time during the reign of Muḥammad Tughluq (1325-51) ; 'Abdu'l-Ḥaq. *Akhbāru'l-Akhyār*, p. 142.

6. *A.Ab.*, f. 103b; *T. Az.*, p. 54 ; *F Q.*, f. 201a ; *T.H.*, III, p. 40; *T.K*, p. 37. *Khānpūr* or *Khāmpūr* is in the modern district of Pārāmūla.

7. *T.Ks*, f 29a; *A.Ab.*, f. 103a; *T.Az.*, p. 54; *F Q.*, f. 200b; *T.H.*, III, p. 40; *T K.*, p. 37.

9. *K.S.*, f 182a; *T.Az.*, p. 102; *T.H*, III, p. 54; *T.K.*, p. 48.

teachers following Ma*kh*dūm Jahāniyān and was initiated into the order by one Saiyid Miyān.[1]

Saiyid Aḥmad arrived in Kashmīr during the reign of Sul*t*ān Nāzuk Shāh,[2] who built a *khānqāh* for him at Narwur, in Srīnagar and assigned an annual grant from the state revenue for the maintenance of his *langar*.[3]

By this time the Shī'ī sect had been firmly established in Kashmīr.[4] Saiyid Aḥmad plunged into discussion with the Shī'īs and made all possible efforts to denounce them and undermine their influence.[5] After his death, Saiyid Aḥmad was buried near the tomb of Shai*kh* Bahāu'd-Dīn, in Srīnagar.[6]

Among his disciple is mentioned Bābā Mas'ūd, popularly known in Kashmīr as "Narwur Ṣāḥib." He was originally a big merchant and was recognised as a *maliku't-tujjār*[7] (lit. prince of merchants). After coming into contact with Saiyid Aḥmad, he gave up his worldly life and began to live like a Ṣūfī.[8]

Like his preceptor, Bābā Mas'ūd was an inveterate enemy of the Shī'īs. He is believed to have converted many Shī'īs to the Sunnī sect.[9] When he died, he was buried in the *khānqāh* of his spiritual master, at Narwur in Srīnagar.[10]

1. *A. Ab.*, f. 186a. Mullā wrongly says that Saiyid Aḥmad was a direct disciple of Ma*kh*dūm Jahāniyān (*K.S.*, f. 182a), who died in 1384.
2. *T H.*, III, p. 55 ; *T.K.*, p. 49. Nāzuk Shāh ruled twice (1529-30 and 1540-52). But the sources do not say during which reign of Nāzuk Shāh, Saiyid Aḥmad arrived in Kashmīr.
3. *T H.*, III, p. 55; *T.K.*, p. 49.
4. See *infra*, Ch. VIII, pp. 289 ff.
5. Cf. *A.Ab.*, f. 186a-b; *T.Az.*, pp. 102-3; *T.H.*, III, pp. 54-5; *T K.*, pp. 48-9. It is said that a prince who had fled from Kashmīr met Saiyid Aḥmad in India and asked for his prayers to help him gain his throne. Saiyid Aḥmad did pray for him, after receiving the prince's assurance that should he recover his throne he would abolish all "Shī'ī innovations."
6. *T.Az.*, p. 103; *T.H.*, III, p. 55; *T.K.*, p. 49.
7. *T.H.*. III, p. 245. See also *A.Ab.*, f. 192b.
8. *A.Ab.*, ff. 192b-193a; *T.H.*, III, p. 244.
9. *A.Ab.*, f. 193b.
10. *T H.*, III, p. 245,

Another important Suhrawardī saint, whose chain of disciples in Kashmīr was destined to flourish for a long time, was Saiyid Jamālu'd-Dīn Bukhārī.[1] He was a disciple of Shaikh Ḥājī 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Dehlavi, who belonged to the Ṣūfī chain of Makhdūm Jahāniyān.[2]

Saiyid Jamālu'd-Dīn arrived in Kashmīr somewhere in the first half of the sixteenth century, and took up his residence in the *khānqāh* of Malik Aḥmad Yattū.[3] A large number of people were attracted to him, among them the celebrated saint Shaikh Ḥamza.[4]

Saiyid Jamālu'd-Dīn urged his disciples to keep themselves aloof of *'ulamā-i-zāhirī* (externalist scholars), who, according to him, learnt books mechanically and did not understand the mysteries of the spiritual path.[5] Like many other Ṣūfīs, he laid great stress on the recital of *zikr* and on leading a life of ascetic solitude.[6]

The Saiyid did not stay for long in Kashmīr, leaving for Delhi after only six months.[7] Through his disciple Shaikh Ḥamza, however, he left an indelible mark on the Sufism of Kashmīr, and endowed the Suhrawardī Order with stability and firmness.

Shaikh Ḥamza Makhdūm, popular known in Kashmīr as "Maḥbūbu'l-'Ālam" ("Beloved of the world"), was born in

1. Mullā at one place calls him Jalālu'd-Dīn and at another place Jamālu'd-Dīn; cf. *K.S.*, ff. 142b, 143a.
2. *D.S.*, p. 69; *A.Ab.*, f. 116b; *T.Az.*, p. 82; Ghulām Sarwar, *Khazīnatu'l-Aṣfiya*, II, p. 85; *T.H.*, III, p. 56; *T.K.*, pp. 46-7.
3. *D.S.*, p. 65; *R.N.*, f. 348a; *A.Ab.*, f. 117a; *K.S.*, f. 143a; *T.H.*, III, p. 56; *T.K.*, p. 47. This *khānqāh* was built by Malik Aḥmad Yattū, *wazīr* of Sulṭān Ḥasan Shāh (1472-84).
4. *D.S.*, pp. 65, 67; *R.N.*, f. 348a; *A.Ab.*, f. 117a; *K.S.*, f. 143a; *T.Az.*, p. 82; *T.H.*, III, p. 56; *T.K.*, p. 47.
5. *D.S.*, p. 67.
6. Ibid., pp. 66, 67.
7. *D.S.*, p. 67; *A.Ab.*, f. 118b; *Khazīnatu'l-Aṣfiyā*, II, p. 86, *T.H.*, p. 57; *T.K.*, p. 47.

900/1494,[1] at Tijr,[2] in the modern district of Bārāmūla. His father 'Usmān Raina was a patron of learning and helped in the maintenance of the seminary of Shaikh Ismā'īl Kubravī[3] at Srīnagar.[4]

Shaikh Ḥamza obtained his early education at this seminary,[5] where Shaikh Fatḥu'llāh,[6] the son of Shaikh Ismā'īl, personally taught him for one year.[7] He learnt the Qur'ān and its commentary from Maulānā Darwesh of the same institution.[8] From Maulānā Lutfu'llāh, who was a teacher at the *Madrasatu'l-Dāru'sh-Shifā* ; founded by Sulṭān Ḥasan Shāh, he studied books on *fiqh* and some works of Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī.[9]

When Saiyid Jamālu'd-Dīn Bukhārī arrived in Kashmīr, Shaikh Ḥamza became his disciple and received initiation into

1. *T.H.*, III, p. 201; *T.K.*, p. 149.
2. *D.S.*, p. 41; *C.A* , f. 83a; *R.N.*, f. 366b; *A.Ab.*, f. 120b; *K.S.*, f. 143a; *T.Az.*, p. 41; *Khazīnatu'l-Asfiyā*, II, p. 86; *F.Q.*, f. 202b; *T.H.*, III, p. 201; *T.K.*, p. 149.
3. See infra, ch. IV for his biography.
4. *D.S.*, p. 41; *T.H.*, III. p. 201.
5. *D.S.*, pp. 44-5; *C.A.*, f. 65b; *R.N.*, f. 367a-b; *A.Ab.*, f. 122b; *K.S.*, f. 143a; *T.H* , III, p. 201; *T.K.*, p. 149. It is said that one morning Shaikh Ḥamza, while still a boy, was going as usual to his teacher in his village, and he met his friends who persuaded him to play truant and join them in their play. Later when the Shaikh went back home, his father asked him what lesson he had read that day. The Shaikh admitted that he had not been to his teacher and was severely punished, because of which he fell seriously ill. However, when he recovered, his grandfather, Zaitū Raina, brought him to the city and enrolled him there at Shaikh Ismā'īl's institution.
6. See infra, ch. IV for his biography.
7. *D.S.*, p. 45; *C.A.*, f. 74b; *R.N.*, f. 367b; *T.H.*, III, p. 201; *T.K.*, p. 149.
8. Ibid., p. 45 ; ibid., f. 74b ; ibid., f. 381b ; ibid., p. 202 ; ibid., p. 149.
9. Ibid., p. 63; ibid., f. 74b; ibid., f. 381b; ibid., p. 202; ibid., p. 149 For life and works of Saiyid 'Ali Hamādāni see infra, ch. III, and Index A.

the Suhrawardī order.[1] Saiyid Jamālu'd-Dīn, before his departure from Kashmīr, gave the Shai*kh* the *silsila-nāmā* and *ijāzat-nāmā*, documents authorising him to enrol disciples into the Suhrawardī order.[2]

Shai*kh* Ḥamza carved out a path in Sufism different from that of Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī.[3] Like the mystics of Bāyazīd Bis*t*ām (d. 874) and Manṣūr Hallāj (d. 913), he was transported in a state of mystical ecstasy called *sukr*. Like Bāyazīd he cried out "*Subḥānī* ! *Mā a'zama sha'nī*" ("Glory be to me ! How great is my Majesty !"). When asked to explain his utterance the Shai*kh* replied : "One who makes such a statement gets identified with the Essence".[4]

Shai*kh* Ḥamza considered the *zikr* to be medicine for the ailments of the heart.[5] For long periods of time he recited *zikr* incessantly, and he urged his disciples to do the same.[6] Solitude, he explained, did not mean only that one should confine oneself to a cell but also that one's heart and mind should be controlled in order to concentrate upon God.[7] It is said that once Bābā Dāwud *Kh*ākī, one of his disciples who had retired to seclusion, stood in need of clarification of some point. He wrote his problem upon a piece of paper and left it at the window for the servant to take to the Shai*kh*. On receiving *Kh*ākī's note, Shai*kh* Ḥamza was highly displeased with him and remarked that his doubts emerged from the lack of concentration and distraction of heart and mind.[8]

1. *D.S.*, p. 63; *C.A.*, f. 89b; *H.M.*, f. 194b; R.*N.*, f. 369a; *A.Ab.*, f. 125a; *K.S* , f, 143a; *T.Az.*, p. 104; *Khazīnatu'l-Aṣfiyā*, II, p. 86; *F.Q.*, f. 202b; *T.H.*, III, p. 205; *T.K.*, p. 151.
2. *D.S.*, p. 67; *C.A.*, f. 89b; *H M* , f. 19'b; *R.N.*, 8.3 8a; *A.Ab.*, f. 125a; *K.S.*, f. 143b; *T.Az.*, p. 104; *Khazīnatu'l-Aṣfiyā*, II, p. 86; *T.H* , III, p. 205; *T.K.*, p. 151.
3. See infra, ch. III for Saiyid 'Ali's teachings.
4. *C.A.*, f, 60b.
5. *D.S.*, p, 66; *C.A*,, f. 57a-b; *H.M.*, ff. 8b, 120b; *R.N.*, f. 401a.
6. *C.A.*, f. 12; *R.N.*, f. 398b.
7. *D.S.*, p. 175; *C.A.*, f. 16b; *R.N.*, f. 398b; *T.H.*, III, p. 202.
8. *C.A.*, f. 19b; *H.M.*, f. 109b; *A.Ab.*, f. 153b; *T.H.*, III, pp. 215-6.

Following the path of the Suhrawardīs,[1] Shai*kh* Ḥamza strongly disapproved of *samā'* (mystical music).[2] Once he was going to say his prayers, and happened to hear *samā'* ; he thereupon immediately performed his ablutions afresh because he had heard the "forbidden practice".[3]

Shai*kh* Ḥamza lived at a very crucial period of Kashmīr history. He saw the downfall of the Shāh Mīr dynasty and the rise of the Chaks, most of whom were Shī'īs. The internecine conflicts between the Shī'īs and Sunnīs vitiated the religious climate of the country.[4] The Shai*kh*'s preceptors, such as Shai*kh* Fatḥu'llāh, were inveterate enemies of the Shī'īs. Later he came into contact with Saiyid Aḥmad Kīrmānī,[5] another strong opponent of them.

Thus partly under their influence and partly because of his own conviction,[6] Shai*kh* Ḥamza became a strong supporter of the Sunnī sect. He waged an incessant ideological battle against the Shī'īs, and is said to have converted some of them to the Sunnī faith.[7]

His hostilities against the Shī'īs aroused the enmity of Sul*t*ān *Gh*āzī Chak (1561-63), who was an orthodox Shī'ī[8]. He ordered the Shai*kh* to leave the city, whereupon he went to the village of Bīru and returned only after the end of *Gh*āzī's rule.[9]

Shai*kh* Ḥamza lived for eightyfour years and breathed his last on 24 Ṣafar, 984/23 May, 1576.[10] He was buried on

1. Cf. *'Awaifu'l-Ma'ārif*, II, pp. 202ff.
2. *D.S*, p. 219; *R.N.*, f. 372a.
3. *D.S.*, p. 219.
4. See infra, pp. 289 ff.
5. *D.S.*, p. 174; *C.A.*, f. 41b; *A.Ab.*, f. 131a,
6. Cf. *D.S*, p. 216; *R.N.*, ff. 396a-b, 367a; *A Ab.*, ff. 128a-b, 133a-b.
7. *D.S.*, pp. 151, 218.
8. Cf, *T.Ks.*, f. 30a-b; *A.Ab.*, f. 138b; *N.A.*, f. 76a; *T.Az.*, p. 91; *T.H.*, II, p. 236. See also infra, p. 295.
9. *A.Ab.*, f. 138b; *T.H.*, II, p. 236. See also *C.A.*, ff. 77b-78b; *H.M.*, f. 127a-b.
10. *C.A.*, f. 67a ; *H.M.*, f. 127a ; *A.Ab.*, f. 143a ; *T.Az.*, pp. 105-6 *Khazinatu'l-Aṣfiyā*, II, p. 87; *F.Q.*, f. 144a; *T.H.*, III, p. 211; *T.K.*, p. 154.

the slope of Koh-i-Marān in Srīnagar,[1] where in his lifetime he used to spend long hours in meditation. His shrine even to this day is an object of veneration and a place of pilgrimage for many Kashmīrī Muslims.

Among the disciples of Shai*kh* Ḥamza are mentioned Bābā Dāwud *Kh*ākī, Maulānā Shamsu'd-Din Pāl, *Khw*āja Isḥāq Qāri', *Khw*āja Hasan Qāri' and Bābā Ḥaidar Tulmūlī.[2] Of these the most distinguished was Bābā Dāwud *Kh*ākī. He hailed from the well known Ganā'ī family of Kashmīr,[3] and used "*Kh*āki" as his pen-name.[4]

While still young, Bābā Dāwud lost his parents, but he continued his education[5] by earning his livelihood as a scribe,[6] a craft in which his father, Ḥasan Ganā'ī, had been famous.[7] He received his education from two well known teachers of the time, Mullā Baṣīr and Mullā Raẓiu'd-Din.[8]

After completing his education Bābā Dāwud served for some time as a tutor to the royal family;[9] but under the influence of Shai*kh* Ḥamza, he gave up worldly life and devoted himself wholeheartedly to Ṣūfī practices. For many years he waited on his preceptor as a humble servant.[10] Impressed with his devotion[11] and spiritual progress, Shai*kh* Ḥamza appointed him as his *khalīfa*[12].

1. T.H., III, p. 212; *T.K.*, p. 154.
2. Cf. *T.H.*, III, pp. 214ff.
3. *R.N.*, f. 335b; *T.H.*, III, p. 215; *T.K.*, p. 157.
4. *D.S.*, p. 373; *R.N.*, f. 336a; *K.S.*, f. 170a; *T.H.*, III, p. 215; T.K., p. 157.
5. *R.N.*, f. 335b; *T.H.*, III, p. 215; *T.K.*, p. 157.
6. *C.A.*, f. 19b; *R.N.*, f. 336a; *T.K.*, p. 157.
7. *T.K.*, p. 157.
8. *C.A.*, f. 42a; *H.M.*, f. 108b; *R N.*, f. 336a; *T.H.*, III, p. 215; *T.K.*, p. 157.
9. *C.A.*, f. 42b; *H.M.*, f. 108b; *R.N*, f. 336a ; *T.H.*, III, p. 215; *T.K.*, p. 157.
10. *C A.*, f. 45a; *H.M.*, f, 151b; *R.N.*, f. 336b; *A.Ab.*, 151b; *K.S.*, f. 170a; *T.H.*, III, p. 215, *T.K.*, p. 157.
11. It is said that because of the menial work which he used to perform for the Shai*kh*, people would pass bitterly sarcastic remarks about him. *C.A.*, f. 50b; *R.N.*, f. 337a-b; *T.H.*, III, p. 215.
12. Ibid.

Bābā Dāwud was one of the most eminent scholars of his time. He wrote a number of works, among which the better known are : *Risāla-i-Ghuslīya*, *Rishī-Nāmā* or *Qaṣīdu'l-Amīya*, *Wirdu'l-Murīdīn* and *Dastūru's-Sālikīn*.[1]

In the *Risāla-i-Ghuslīya*, he explains the virtues and benefits of cleanliness. The *Rishī-Nāmā* recounts the biographies of some of the Kashmīrī saints and their miracles. The *Wirdu'l-Murīdīn* is a treatise of 440 verses. In it Bābā Dāwud glorifies the spiritual achievements and supernatural feats of his preceptor, Shai*kh* Ḥamza.

The most important and voluminous of his work is *Dastūru's Sālikīn*. It is a commentary upon the *Wirdu'l-Murīdīn*, and gives interesting glimpses of the life and teachings of Shai*kh* Ḥamza and of his own. The bulk of the work, however, consists of the sayings of the Prophet, his companions and prominent Ṣūfīs. The sayings are based on well known Ṣūfī works such as *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, *Kashfu'l-Maḥjub*, *'Awārifu'l Ma'ārif* and *Nafaḥātu'l-Uns*.[2] The work makes copious references to the treatises of Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī[3] and incorporates his *Risāla-Dah Qā'ida* in full.[4]

Bābā Dāwud held independent views on several controversial issues and practices of the Ṣūfīs. For instance he approved of *samā'*, which the Suhrawardīs in general and Shai*kh* Ḥamza in particular had denounced as a forbidden practice. Bābā Dāwud urged that *samā'*, stimulates love when heard within the limits prescribed by the Ṣūfī masters.[5]

1. The first, third and fourth were published at Srīnagar in 1356/1937, and the second is in the possession of the Research Department, Srīnagar.

2. Cf. *D.S.*, pp. 5, 7, 8, 10, 27, 30, 92 etc.

3. Cf. *D.S.*, p. 45 and *Z.M.*, p. 183; *D.S.*, p. 203 and *K.H.*, f. 232b; *D.S.*, p. 85 and *Ms.C.*, f. 289a.

4. Cf. *D.S.*, pp. 154ff.

5. Ibid., p. 220.

Similarly he laid great stress on *Khilwat dar anjuman*[1] and *hosh dar dam*,[2] two of the eleven principles of the Naqshbandī order,[3] and urged the seeker after truth to follow them.[4] Further, he upheld *zikr-i-khafi* (inward remembrance of God) as against *zikr-i-jahr*[5] (outward remembrance of God), and believed that the latter was meant for beginners alone.[6]

His attitude towards the renouncement of the world, however, accorded with the Suhrawardī doctrines. Like the Suhrawardīs,[7] he believed that the renouncement of the world did not mean that one should go naked or wear only a *lungota* (the narrow strip of cloth which the poor wear about the waist). Renunciation in fact demanded nothing but sincerity on the part of the devotee ; wealth in itself was no obstacle to the mystical path.[8]

Regarding the necessity of *pīr* (preceptor) for the person on the path to God, Bābā Dāwud approved the traditional Ṣūfī view that if one has no *pīr* his guide is Satan.[9] The *pīr*, he maintained, is the deputy (*nā'ib*) and *khalīfa* of the Prophet.[10] Hence the disciple should not try to find out the shortcomings of his preceptor.[11]

1. Ability to enjoy solitude even while in an assembly. Here the aim is that even while living in the midst of worldly people one should be able to contemplate God.
2. Awareness while breathing. Not a breath may be inhaled or exhaled in the state of forgetfulness of the Divine presence.
3. Cf. Fakhru'd-Dīn, *Rashḥāt-i-'Ainu'l-Ḥayāt*, ff. 20a.
4. *D.S.*, pp. 24-5.
5. Cf. Saiyid 'Alī's views, infra ch. III,
6. *D.S.*, pp. 100 and 140.
7. Shaikh Bahā'ud-Dīn Zakarīya (1182-1262). the pioneer saint of the Suhrawardī order in India, was famous for the large fortune he had amassed. When questioned about his fortune, Bahāu'd-'Dīn replied : "A serpent can harm only one who does not know *afsun* (incantations)" Hamīd bin Fazlu'llāh, *Siyārul-'Ārifin*, p. 14. See also, Ḥasan Sijzī, *Fawā'idu'l-Fa'ūd*, pp. 236-7.
8. *D.S.*, p. 187.
9. Ibid., pp. 2-4.
10. Ibid., p. 5.
11. Ibid., p. 103.

Bābā Dāwud's attitude towards the Shī'īs remained the same as that of his Shai*kh*. Throughout his work *Dastūru's-Sālikīn*, his hostility and antipathy towards the Shī'ī sect is prominently displayed. The topic will be discussed in detail elsewhere.[1]

He breathed his last on 3 Ṣafar, 994/24 January, 1586,[2] and is buried near the tomb of his spiritual master.

1. See infra, ch. VIII,
2. *A.Ab.*, f. 168b; *K.S.*, f. 170a; *T.Az.*, p. 109; *T.H.*, III, p. 219; *T.K.* p. 157.

CHAPTER III

THE KUBRAVĪ ORDER—A

Among the Ṣūfī orders introduced in Kashmīr the Kubravīya order gained the most widespread popularity there. It was founded by Aḥmad bin 'Umaru'l-*Kh*ayūqī, popularly called Najmu'd-Dīn Kubrā,[1] born in *Khw*ārazm, in 540/1145. He had spent most of his youth in travelling to various Islamic countries.[2] During one of his sojourns at *Kh*urāsān, he came in contact with Shai*kh* Ismā'īl Qaṣrī,[3] a disciple of Shai*kh* Abū'l-Najīb Suhrawardī. After some time Shai*kh* Ismā'īl advised him to go to Shai*kh* 'Ammār Yāsir,[4] who initiated him into Sufism, and in his turn sent Najmu'd-Dīn to Shai*kh* Rūzbihān,[5] for further education. Impressed with the spiritual progress of Najmu'd-Dīn, Shai*kh* Rūzbihān sent him back to Shai*kh* 'Ammār Yāsir, who ultimately asked Najmu'd-Dīn to settle in his native place, *Khw*ārazm. In accordance with the direction of his preceptor, Najmu'd-Dīn made *Khw*ārazm the centre of his activities.[6]

1. "Kubra" is an abbreviation of his title "*Tāmmatu'l-Kubrā*", which was given to him by his friends, in the days of his student life, on account of his victories in debates with his adversaries ; *N.U.*, p. 270; Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī, *Haft-Iqlīm*, III, p. 317; Qāzī Nūru'llāh Shustarī, *Majālisu'l-Mu'minīn*, p. 286
2. Cf. *N.U.*, pp. 270ff. See also *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, III, p. 823.
3. Iqbāl bin Sābiqi-Sistānī, *Chihil-Majlis*, f. 183a; *N.U.*, p. 272; *Haft-Iqlīm*, III, p. 317; *Majālisu'l-Mu'minīm*, p. 286.
4. He was one of the followers of Shai*kh* Abūl-Najīb; *N.U.*, p. 269.
5. He too was a disciple of Shai*kh* Abū'l-Najīb and had settled in Egypt; *N.U*, p. 269.
6. *Chihil-Majlis*, ff. 182b-183a; *N.U.*, pp. 272-3; *Haft-Iqlīm*, III, pp. 217-8; *Majālisu'l-Mu'minīn*, p. 286.

   Berthels wrongly says that Najmu'd-Dīn's first teacher was Shai*kh* Rūzbihan and later went to 'Ammār Yāsir and then to Ismā'īl Qaṣrī, who asked him to settle at *Khw*ārazm (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, III, p. 823). In fact the sources on which Berthels has based his information (*N. U.*, *Haft-Iqlīm*, *Majālisu'l-Mu'minīn*) do not support this.

Najmu'd-Din soon became an outstanding personality of his time. He was a prolific writer and his works[1] came to be recognised as standard text-books of advanced Ṣūfic theories. "The Ṣūfī writings of Nad*j*m al-Dīn", writes Berthels, "form a transition from the older Ṣūfism of the first theorists (the Nīshāpūr school of the Xth-XIth centuries) to the later Ṣūfism of Ibn al-'Arabī and his successors."[2]

During the lifetime of Najmu'd-Dīn, Central Asia and Persia were in turmoil. Chingīz *Kh*an (1206-1227) had started his career of rapine and conquest. *Khw*ārazm was also sacked by the Mongol army. Chingīz *Kh*ān, however, offered protection to Najmu'd-Dīn, but he declined the offer.[3] He eventually perished along with thousands of others in 1221,[4] during a battle with the Mongols.[5]

The teachings of the Kubravīya order were spread widely in various parts of the Muslim world, especially in Central Asia and Persia, by the disciples of Najmu'd-Dīn.[6] The most eminent among them were,[7] Majadu'd-Din Ba*gh*dādi[8] (d. in between 609/1209 and 616/1219), Raẓīu'd-Dīn 'Alī Lālā (d. 642/1244), Sa'du'd-Dīn Ḥamawī (d. 650/1253), Najmu'd-Dīn Rāzī (d. 654/1256) and Bābā Kamālu'd-Din of Jand. All of them, according to Jāmī, were incomparable in the world of the Ṣūfīs.[9]

Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī, who introduced the Kubravīya order in Kashmīr, was linked with that order through Raẓīu'd-Dīn 'Alī Lālā. Raẓīu'd-Dīn, after travelling to a number of Islamic countries, had settled in Turkistān, in the

1. See *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, III, p. 823, for his works.
2. Ibid.
3. *Jāmi'u'l-Tawārīkh*, I, pp. 373-4; *Haft-Iqlīm*, III, pp. 318-9.
4. *N.U.*, pp. 273 4.
5. *Jāmi'u'l-Tawārīkh*, I, p. 374; *N.U.*, p. 273.
6. Cf. As*gh*ar 'Alī Ḥikmat, "Les Voyages D'un Mystique person De Hamadan Au Kashmir", *Journal Asiatique*, CCXL, 1952, pp. 55-6.
7. Cf. *N U.*, pp. 279ff.
8. He was the preceptor of the celebrated Farīdu'd-Dīn 'A*tt*ār (d. 1220 or 1230); *N.U.*, p. 391.
9. *N.U.*, p. 274.

Khānqāh of Shaikh Aḥmad Yasū.[1] He came in contact with Najmu'd-Dīn at *Khwārazm* and became his disciple.[2]

Among the principal disciples of Raẓīu'd-Dīn was Shai*kh* Aḥmad Jauzqānī (d. 669/1270), an eminent Ṣūfī of his time. He in his turn initiated Shai*kh* Abdu'l-Raḥmān Isfarā'inī (born in 639/1241) in the Kubravīya order.[3] Shai*kh* Isfarā'inī, who was also a well known Ṣūfī, attracted a large number of disciples, the most distinguished among whom was Ruknu'd-Dīn Abū'l-Makārim generally known as 'Alā'u'd-Daula Simnānī (659-736/1261-1336).

'Alā'u'd-Daula Simnānī was an erudite scholar and a prolific writer.[4] During his youth he had served Īl*kh*ān Ar*gh*ūn[5] (613--690/1284-1291), under whom his father, Malik Sharafu'd-Dīn, and uncle, Malik Jalālu'd-Dīn, held offices of distinction.[6] However, after some time, under a fit of mystical ecstasy, he gave up the Mongol service and devoted himself entirely to God.[7]

He strongly rejected the idea that a Ṣūfī should not possess wealth. He quoted many examples of his predecessors such as Majadu'd-Dīn Ba*gh*dādī, who had accumulated vast wealth while yet pursuing the mystic path.[8] Again he did not approve of the quiet and withdrawn ascetic life. He believed that the duty of a Ṣūfī was to preach his faith.[9]

1. Yassi is a place in Turkistān and Shai*kh* Aḥma d, who is said to have been a descendant of Muḥmmed ibn Ḥanafī, son of the Caliph 'Alī, is buried there. His tomb exists at Yassi under the name of "Hazrat-i-Turkistān"; cf G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp. 485-6,
2. *Chihil-Majlis*, ff. 182b, 183b-184a; *N.U.*, p. 282.
3. *N.U.*, p. 283.
4. He himself is reported to have claimed that he had blackened one thousand *tabāq* (sheets) for the sake of Sufism; cf. Daulat Shāh Samarqandī, *Tazkiratu'l Shu'rā*, p. 280.
5. *Chihil-Majlis*, f. 173; *Tazkirātu'l Shu'rā*, p. 280; *N.U* , p. 284.
6. *Chihil-Majlis*, ff. 158b, 173a, 193a; *Tazkiratu'l-Shu'rā*, p. 280. The latter wrongly gives his uncle's name as Malik Sharafu'd Dīn.
7. *Chihit-Majlis*, f 158a; *Tazkiratu'l-Shu'rā*, p. 280.
8. *Chihil-Majlis*, f 191b; *N.U.*, p. 280; *F.K* , f. 48a,
9. Cf. *Chihil-Majlis*, ff. 169a, 172b

Among the Ṣūfīs, who were trained in his *khānqāh*, there arose a number of scholars and mystics. Shai*kh* Abū'l-Mā'lī Sharafu'd-Dīn Maḥmūd bin 'Abdu'llāh Muzdaqānī also belonged to that galaxy of scholars and Ṣūfīs who were trained in 'Alā'u'd-Daula's *khānqāh*.[1] Unfortunately for us the details of the life[2] and activities of Shai*kh* Muzdaqānī are not known. But he remains the most prominent among the followers of 'Alā'ud-Daula Simnānī, because of his disciple, Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī, whom he initiated in the Kubraviya order.

THE LIFE OF SAIYID 'ALI

Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī, popularly known in Kashmīr as "Shāh-i-Hamadān" (the lord of Hamadān), was born at Hamadān on 12 Rajab, 714/22 October, 1314. He was a member of the family of the 'Alawī Saiyids of that town,[4] claiming descent from 'Alī the fourth Caliph.[5] His father Saiyid Shihābu'd-Dīn is said to have been a *ḥākīm* (governor) of Hamadān[6] and appears to have shown little interest in the education of his son. This responsibility fell on his maternal uncle 'Alā'u'd-Daula, a saint of considerable piety and devotion.[7] Some modern scholars wrongly identify him with the celebrated 'Alā'u'd-Daula Simnānī.[8]

At a very young age Saiyid 'Alī memorised the whole Qur'ān.[9] When he was only twelve years old[10] his maternal

1. *K.M.*, p. 450; *F.K.*, f 54a.
2. What we are told is that he had great spiritual power and that he never married; *K M.*, p. 456; *F.K.*, f, 54a.
3. *F K.*, f. [illegible] a; *T.H.*, III, p. 11; *T.K* , p. 10.
4. Cf. Ḥikmat, op, cit , *Journal Asiatique*, CCXL, 1952, p. 53.
5. *K M.*, p. 441; *Mastūrāt*, f. 348b; *F.K.*, f. 54b; *T.H.*, III, p. 11; *T K.*, p. 10.
6. *K M.*, p. 441; *F.K.*, f. 54b; *T.H.*, III, p. 11.
7. *K.M.*, p. 441; *F.K.*, f. 54b; *T.H.*, III, p. 11; *T.K.*, p. 11.
8. Cf. Ṣūfī, *Kashīr*, I, p. 85.
9. *K.M.*, p. 441; *F.K.*, f. 54b; *T.H* , III, p. 11; *T.K.*, pp. 10-1,
10. *K.M.*, p. 451; *F.K.*, f, 54b.

uncle introduced him to Shai*kh* Muzdaqānī,[1] who, after teaching him[2] the elementary principles of Sufism, sent him to Taqīu'd-Dīn 'Alī Dūstī,[3] another disciple of 'Alā'u'd-Daula Simnānī.[4] Saiyid 'Alī remained with his new teacher for about two years,[5] and after his death he retuned to Shai*kh* Muzdaqānī, who put the finishing touches to his education.[6]

According to Abdu'l-Wahhāb, Saiyid 'Alī also received guidance from 'Alā'u'd-Daula Simnānī.[7] Ja'far Bada*kh*shī also supports this and says that Saiyid 'Alī had collected some four hundred traditions of the Prophet (*aḥaddīs*) from various prominent saints of his time, including 'Alā'u'd-Daula Simnānī.[8]

When 'Alā'u'd-Daula Simnānī died, Saiyid 'Alī was about twenty-two years old. It is not therefore unlikely that he came in contact with the great saint and his own preceptor Shai*kh* Muzdaqānī may have recommended him to his teacher.

Like most of his predecessors, Saiyid 'Alī travelled very extensively[9] and is said to have performed the pilgrimage twelve times.[10] His most important journey, however, was his visit to Kashmīr, which is said to have been caused by the cruelty of Tīmūr (1335-1405) towards the 'Alawī Saiyids of

1. *K. Mb.*, p.451.; *A.A.*b.; *Mastūrāt,* f. 350 b; F.K.; f 54b; T.H., III, p. 12. Miskīn wrongly says that the Saiyid first went to Taqīu'dDīn 'Alī Dūstī; T.K., p. 11.
2. *F.K.*, f. 55a.
3. Jāmī calls him Nafīu'd-Dīn; *N.U.*, p. 290.
4. *K.M.*, p. 457; *N U.*, p. 290.
5. *F.K.*, f. 55a.
6. *N.U.*, p. 290; *A.Ab.*, f. 10b ; *Mastūrāt,* f. 355b; f. 55a; *T.H.*, III, p. 12.
7. *F.K.*, f. 55a.
8. *K.M* , pp. 453-4.
9. Cf. *Haft Iqlīm,* II, p. 530; *A.Ab* , f. 10b; *F.K* , f 55b.
10. *K.M.*, pp. 561, 574,

Hamadān. 'Alī Aṣghar Ḥikmat[1] and Muḥibbu'l-Ḥasan,[2] two modern scholars, suggest that when Tīmūr for the third time invaded Persia and Irāq, in 1383, he expelled the powerful 'Alawi Saiyids from there, and Saiyids 'Alī left Hamadān and took refuge in Kashmīr.[3]

The Ṣūfīs in general and the Kubravīyas in particular travelled extensively in the various parts of the Muslim world. After the conversion of *Ghazān Khān* through a Ṣūfī, Ṣadru'd-Dīn Ḥamawī (d. 722/1322),[4] the Persian Ṣūfīs, especially the followers of 'Alā'u'd-Daula Simnānī, began to take great interest in missionary activities.

Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī and his companions were not the only ones to leave Persia. Many other Ṣūfīs, who were trained at the *khānqāh* of 'Alā'u'd-Daula Simnānī, left their native towns and travelled as far as Gulbarga in south India.[5] Mīr Saiyid Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī (d. 1405), who had travelled

1. "Les Voyages D'un Mystique Person de Hamadan Au Kashmīr", *Journal Asiatique*, CCXL, 1952, p. 62.
2. *Sultāns*, p. 56. Muḥibbu'l-Ḥasan has based his argument on the information of Ḥikmat, who himself does not cite any source for this.
3. According to a popular legend Tīmūr once invited Saiyid 'Alī to his palace to test his spiritual power. When the Saiyid came, the arrangements for sitting had been made in such a way that *qibla* would be behind him. It is said that the Saiyid had never sat like that in his life. But when Saiyid 'Alī sat down the palace rotated and he faced the *qibla*. After the meal was served, Tīmūr asked Saiyid 'Alī whether he had taken lawful or unlawful food. Before the Saiyid could answer, a woman came to the court crying that she had left a lamb for her *pīr*, Saiyid 'Alī, and that the king's officials took it from her forcibly. The Saiyid at once remarked that it was served to him. Thus Tīmūr became annoyed and ordered the Saiyid to leave his kingdom immediately. Thereupon Saiyid 'Alī retired to Kashmīr; (*F.K.*, f. 68a-b; *T.H.*, III, p. 13; *T.K.*, p. 16). The legend is fictitious and absurd and deserves no attention.
4. *Jāmi'u'l-Tawārīkh*, II, pp. 903-4; *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Ghāzān*, pp. 79-80.
5. Cf. *Laṭā'if-i-Ashrafī*, f. 216a, cited by S.A.A. Rizvi, *Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India*, p. 55.

for some time in the company of Saiyid 'Alī, also came to India and settled there at Kichaucha, in Faiẓabād (east of Lucknow).[1]

There is ample evidence to show that Tīmūr was not hostile to the Saiyids[2] and he cannot be believed to have provoked Saiyid 'Alī to leave his native place. Saiyid 'Alī and his associates must have been attracted to Kashmīr because Muslim rule was newly established there and offered considerable opportunities for popularising Islam. According to Ja'far Bada*kh*shī, Saiyid 'Alī had been ordered by Shai*kh* Muzdaqānī to travel and preach the truth to the people.[3] Saiyid 'Alī himself is said to have remarked that wherever he went, God the most powerful commanded him to travel and preach to the people.[4]

Moreover, Saiyid 'Alī did not come to Kashmīr alone. He was accompanied by a large number of Saiyids, all of whom did not belong to the family of 'Alawī Saiyids. Lastly, some ten years before Tīmūr is said to have expelled the 'Alawī Saiyids from Hamadān, Saiyid 'Alī had sent two of his cousins, Saiyid Tāju'd-Dīn and Saiyid Ḥusain, to Kashmīr to explore the religious atmosphere of that country.[5]

The report must have been encouraging,[6] as Saiyid 'Alī

1. *Akhbāru'l Akhyār*, p. 166.
2. "I [Tīmūr] ordered that on all occasions of ceremony, the Syeds (Saiyids)...and learned body, should be seated on my right hand.... I however took care that the Syeds were never to be treated with contempt or abused, and forbade their ever being bound or put to death...".
   Malfūzāt-i-Tīmūrī, Eng. Tr., Stewart (*Memoirs of Tīmūr*), p. 14. See also Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Shāmī, *Ẓafar-Nāmā*, I, p. 104.
3. *K.M.*, pp. 560-1; see also *F.K.*, f. 55b.
4. *K.M.*, p. 573. According to the author of the *Mastūrāt* (f. 420a), the Prophet once appeared to Saiyid 'Alī in a dream and asked him to go to Kashmīr and convert people there to Islam.
5. *T. Ks*, f. 1a; *T. Az.*, pp 35, 38; *F.K.*, f. 69b; *G.A.*, f. 116a-b. Saiyid Tāju'd-Dīn and Saiyid Ḥusain arrived in Kashmīr, during the reign of Sulṭān Shihābu'd-Dīn (1354 1373). See infra, ch. IV for their biographies.
6. Cf. *T.Ks.*, f. 2b.

arrived in Kashmīr during the reign of Sul*t*ān Qu*t*bu'd-Dīn (1373-1389).[1] The Sul*t*ān received him warmly and the Saiyid took up his residence at 'Alā'u'd-Dīnpura, in Srīnagar.[2]

The chronology of Saiyid 'Alī's visit to Kashmir is confusing and it is sometimes impossible to reconcile the accounts of the various sources. According to two later authorities, Ḥasan[3] and Miskin,[4] Saiyid 'Alī visited Kashmir three times, in 774/1372-73, 781/1379-80, and 785/1383-84. Neither of them mention any activity cf Saiyid 'Ali's first two visits. According to a legend, Saiyid 'Ali is said to have travelled three times all over the world,[5] and Ḥasan and Miskīn seem to have based their account on this story. Such modern scholars as Muḥīu'd-Dīn Ṣūfī,[6] and Muḥibbu'l-Ḥasan[7] agree with them, both relying on Miskīn.

Miskīn's statements are, however, not free from doubt. For example he suggests that Saiyid 'Alī's first visit took place in 1372 and at the same time he says that Qu*t*bu'd-Dīn was the ruler of that country.[8] Qu*t*bu'd-Dīn came to the throne in 1373[9] and not in 1372. Again Miskīn maintains that Saiyid 'Alī came to Kashmīr for the third time in 785/1383-84 and he remarks that Nuru'd-Dīn Rishī[10] was four years old at that time.[11] Elsewhere he gives the Rishī's date of birth as 779/1377-78.[12] This would mean that the Saiyid arrived in Kashmīr for the third time in 783/1381-82.

1. Mirzā Ḥaidar, *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, Eng. Tr., E.D. Ross, pp. 432-3; *A.A.*, II, p. 185; *T.Ks.*, f, 2b; *B.S.*, f. 23a; *T. Km.*, f. 91a; *N.A.*, f. 35a; *T.Az.*, p. 57.
2. *T.Ks.*, f. 3b; *T.Az.*, p. 36; *F.K.*, f. 58b. 'Alā'u'd-Dīnpura is now called *Kh*ānqāh-i-Mu'allā.
3. *T.H.*, III, pp. 14-5.
4. *T.K.*, pp. 12-4.
5. Cf. *Haft-Iqlīm*, II, p. 539.
6. *Kashīr*, I, pp. 86-7.
7. *Sultāns*, pp. 55-6.
8. *T.K*, p. 12.
9. *R.Tj.*, p. 47.
10. See infra, ch. VI for his biography.
11. *T.K.*, p. 14.
12. *T.K.*, p. 92.

The early sources are unanimous in saying that Saiyid 'Alī came to Kashmīr only once. However, they also do not agree among themselves about the date of his arrival there.

Both Mirzā Ḥaidar[1] (d. 1551) and Abu'l-Faẓl[2] mention only one visit of Saiyid 'Alī to Kashmīr, which took place in the reign of Sultān Qutbu'd-Dīn.

According to Saiyid 'Alī, the author of *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr*, the Saiyid arrived in the Valley in 786/1384-85.[3] At the same time he quotes a chronogram (*maqdam sharīf bajū*), by one Saiyid Muḥammad *Khāwarī*, which gives Saiyid 'Alī's date of arrival in Kashmīr as 785/1383-84.[4] The two dates are not reconcilable. Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī died in 786/1385 ;[5] therefore both the dates 785/1383-84, and 786/1384-85 are incorrect.[6]

Other authorities *Bahāristān-i-Shāhī*,[7] Ḥaidar Malik,[8] and Rafī'u'd-Dīn Aḥmad,[9] give 783/1381, as the date of Saiyid 'Alī'sarrival to Kashmīr. This seems to be reasonable as Saiyid 'Alī travelled extensively in the Valley and he must have spent a good deal of time there.

1. *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, pp. 432-3.
2. *A.A.*, II, p. 185.
3. F. 2a.
4. *T.Ks.*, f. 3a. On the margin of this work (f. 3a), the copyist wrongly calculates the date of Saiyid 'Alī's arrival as 783/1381-82, from the chronogram. Elsewhere, on the margin (f. 12a) there appear the two following dates :
   A. Saiyid 'Alī's arrival in Kashmīr, 783/1381-82.
   B. Saiyid 'Alī's death, 786/1384-85.
5. See infra, p. 39.
6. It is difficult to accept too the year 741/1340-41, which is given by the author of *Mastūrāt* (ff. 347b-48a), who also records only one visit of the Saiyid to the Valley. He states himself elsewhere (ff. 421b-22a), that after leaving the Valley the Saiyid died in 786/1384-85. This would mean that Saiyid 'Alī stayed in Kashmīr for about 45 years, which is supported by none of the sources.
7. F. 23a.
8. *T.Km.*, f. 91a.
9. *N.A.*, f. 35a.

Saiyid 'Alī's proselyting activities in Kashmir, are highly extolled by both medieval[1] and modern scholars.[2] But none of them give any details of the method adopted by him in his work.

One anecdote, common in all sources,[3] reveals that Saiyid 'Alī resorted to miracles to obtain converts. It is said that the Brahman of *Kāl-i-mandar*,[4] in Srīnagar was the most famous ascetic of Kashmīr in those days. Saiyid 'Alī, on hearing of his virtues, decided to visit him and to convert him to Islam. The Brahman, trying to impress the Saiyid, claimed that he could fly into the sky and at once demonstrated this feat.

Saiyid 'Alī thereupon ordered one of his followers, Saiyid Kabīr,[5] to teach the Brahman a lesson. Saiyid Kabīr ordered his shoes to chase the Brahman and to bring him down by beating on the head. The shoes performed exactly what was ordered. The miracle convinced the Brahman of Saiyid 'Alī's superiority and he, along with his followers, accepted Islam.

This miracle is similar to one which a yogī is said to have performed in the court of Muḥammad bin Tug*h*luq.[6] The Ṣūfī *malfūzāt* of the fourteenth century also record similar encounters between the Ṣūfīs and the yogīs.[7] But the performance of miracles was no part of the activities of the Ṣūfīs, They rejected the supernatural powers of the yogīs with scorn, calling it *istidrāj* ("conferring of benefits by God on obstinate sinners").[8]

1. Cf. *T.Ks.*, ff. 2b-3a; *N.A.*, f. 35a; *Masturāt*, f. 421a; *F.K.*, f. 59a; *T H.*, III, p. 16, *T.K.*, p. 14.
2. Cf. R.C. Temple, *The word of Lallā*, p. 2; Muḥibbu'l-Ḥasan, *Sultāns*, pp. 56, 235.
3. *T. Ks.*, ff. 3a-4b; *F.K.*, f. 58b; *T.H.*, III, p. 15; *T.K.*, pp. 13-4. See also *Masturāt*, f. 421a.
4. Now called *Kh*ānqāh-i-Mu'allā.
5. See infra, ch. VI for his biography.
6. Cf. Ibn Baṭṭūṭā, *Reḥla*, Eng. Tr., H.A.R. Gibb (*Ibn Battūta Travels in Asia and Africa*), p. 226.
7. Cf. *Fawā'idu'l-Fu'ād*, pp. 57-8.
8. S.A.A. Rizvi, "Ṣūfīs and Nātha Yogis in Medieval Northern India (XII to XVI Centuries"), *The Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia*, VII, 1970, p. 128.

There is no doubt, however, that Islam in Kashmīr received great impetus because of Saiyid 'Alī and his followers. Saiyid 'Alī, accompanied by his disciples, travelled widely in the Valley. He left his deputies at a number of places, which were great Hindu centres of those days, such as Pompur, Avantipura and Vijabror. These followers of Saiyid 'Alī established *khānqahs,* and the network of branches which gradually emerged became important centres of preaching and proselytisation.

In order to glorify Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī, some sources[1] assert that because of the absence of Muslim scholars in the country at that time, Sul*t*ān Qu*t*bu'd-Dīn used to follow certain practices in contravention of Islamic teachings. But this claim is not reconcilable with the facts, as we know that the Saiyid himself held discussions with some Muslim scholars in Kashmīr, who understood an extremely difficult and philosophical work such as the *Futūḥāt-i-Makkiya* of Ibn 'Arabī.[2]

It is true that the *'ulamā* were not available in large number, but it is incorrect to believe that Kashmīr at that time was devoid of Muslim scholars and that Islamic teachings were introduced only because of Saiyid 'Alī and his followers.

In fact if Sul*t*ān Qu*t*bu'd-Dīn visited Hindu shrines, celebrated their festivals and dressed himself after the Hindu fashion,[3] it was for political reasons. The great majority of his subjects were non-Muslim and the government officers, as the chronicler Saiyid 'Alī points out,[4] were *mushriks* (idolators, i.e., Hindus); no doubt it was to maintain good relations with his subjects that he followed their customs and manners.[5]

1. *T.Ks.*, ff. 4b, 5a-b; *B.S.*, f. 23b; *T.Kh.*, f. 109a; *A.Ab.*, f. 19b : See also *T.Km.*, f. 91a; *T.Az.*, p. 36.
2. *T.Ks.*, f. 6a-b; *F.K.*, f. 71a; *T.Az.*, p. 39.
3. *T.Ks.*, f. 5a-b; *B.S.*, f. 23b; *T.Km.*, f. 91a; *T.Kh.*, f. 109a-b; *A.Ab.*, f. 19b; *T.Az.*, p. 36.

   According to Jonarāja, Sultān Qutbu'dīn, in order to avert famines, once performed a *yajna*; *R. Tj.*, p. 53.
4. *T.Ks.*, f. 5a.
5. Qu*t*bu'd-Dīn's grandfather, Shāh Mīr, before him had even married his daughter and grand-daughters to Hindu chiefs for political reasons; see supra, Ch. I.

It was because of this policy of Sul*t*ān Qu*t*bu'd-Dīn that Saiyid 'Alī's relations with him did not remain cordial[1]. There was a conflict between them, arising from their different attitudes towards the non-Muslims[2] made it impossible for him to be reconciled with the policies of Sul*t*ān Qu*t*bu'd-Dīn.

Dissatisfied with the Sul*t*ān's response to his teachings, Saiyid 'Alī decided to leave Kashmīr. The author of *Baharistan-t-Shāhī*, supported by two other authorities[3], says : "When Sul*t*ān Qu*t*bu'd-Din did not glorify (*raunaq*) Islam and implement the *sharī'a* as Saiyid 'Alī wished, he therefore decided not to stay any more in this country, and left via Bārāmūla, with the intention of performing the pilgrimage.''[4]

On reaching Kunār,[5] Saiyid 'Alī was urged by its chief,[6] to stay there for a few days. There he fell ill and died[7] on 6 Zu'l-Ḥijja, 786/19 January 1385, at the age of 73.[8] His body was carried to *Kh*uttalān,[9] now in Russian Tājkistān and was buried there on 25 Jumādu'l-Auwal, 787/14 July, 1385.[10]
Religious and Political Thought of Saiyid 'Alī Hamadāni

1. Cf. *B.S.*, f. 25a; *T.Km.*, f. 93a; *T.Kh.*, ff. 109b-110a.
2. In his *Z.M.* (pp. 117-8), Saiyid 'Alī advises a Muslim ruler to impose twenty humiliating conditions on his non-Muslim subjects and in return the non-Muslims are guaranteed nothing. 107-9.
3. *T.Km.*, f. 93a; *T.Kh.*, ff. 109b-110a.
4. F. 25a.
5. In the vicinity of Pakhlī, north-west of Kashmīr.
6. According to Ja'far Bada*kh*shī, the name of the chief was Sul*t*ān Khizr (*K.M.*, p. 580). But A'*Z*amī and Miskīn give his name as Sul*t*ān Muḥammad; *T Az.*, p. 37; *T.K.*, pp. 14-5.
7. Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī wrongly says that Saiyid 'Alī died at Kābul; *Haft Iqlīm* II, p. 539.
8. *K.M.*, p. 580; *B.S.*, f. 25a; *A.Ab.*, f. 19b; *T.Az.*, p. 37; *T.H.*, III, pp. 16-7; *T.K.*, p. 15.
9. Kolāb, see A. Kolpakov, "*Kh*ātira-i-Qadīmtarīn dar Kolāb" (Ancient Monument of Kolāb), in the Tājik periodical, *Khaqīqat-i-Kolāb*, 15 August, 1947, for the details about the mausoleum of Saiyid 'Alī at *Kh*uttalān.
10. *K.M.*, p. 580. A'zami, however, says that he was buried on 5 Jumādu'l-Auwal, 787/16 June, 1385 (*T.Az.*, p. 37). But Ja'far Bada*kh*shī being contemporary, is more reliable and moreover he had attended the funeral prayer when the Saiyid was buried at *Kh*uttlan; cf. K.M., p. 580.

Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī was a prolific writer. According to three[1] of his biographers, he was the author of 170 works. But none of them, except Wahhāb who lists sixteen of his treatises,[2] gives their titles.

However, various libraries in India, Irān and Europe have a number of treatises wrintten by Saiyid 'Alī in their collections. In India the Riẓā Library, Rāmpur and the Oriental Research Department, Srīnagar have the largest number of these. In Irān the Kitāb *Khā*na Millī of Tehrān, the library of Mashhad and the Malik Library, Tehrān, have manuscript copies of several treatises of Saiyid 'Alī. In England works of Saiyid 'Alī are to be found in the India Office Library and in the British Museum. A collection of Saiyid 'Alī's works is also in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. A consolidated list of the available works of Saiyid 'Alī is given in the Appendix A.

None of the works of Saiyid 'Alī, however, has so far been published, except *Zakhīratu'l-Mulūk* and *Risāla-i-Dah Qābida*.[3] Other than this, all his known works are very short, consisting of a few folios each. These short treatises, although not specifically mentioned as such, seem to be nothing short of letters, as their style and rambling character of their teachings show.

This technique was invented by Imām Qushairī (d. 465/1072), who preferred to write short treatises on different topics of Sufism in the form of letters. His celebrated *Risāla*, although a large work, is in the form of a letter addressed to his contemporary Ṣufīs. Later on some other Ṣufīs also followed the same technique and many of their treatises are in the form of letters.

1. *Masturāt*, f. 373a; *F.K.*, f. 57b; *T.H.*, III, p. 12.
2. Wahhāb (*F.K.*, f. 57b) claims that of the 170 works written by the Saiyid, he had seen about 50, but mentions only the following : *Zakhīratu'l-Mulūk*, *Ma'rifatu'l-Zuhd*, *Halu'l-Faṣūṣ*, *Majma'u'l-Aḥādīṣ*, *Minhāju'l-'Ārifīn*, *Mir'atu'l-Tai'bīn*, *Mashariqu'l-Anwar*, *Sharḥ-i-Asmā'i-Ḥusnā*, *Risāla-i-Talqīnīya*, *Ādābu'l-Murīdīn*, *Risāla-i-Faqrīya*, *Risāla-s-Khawatirya* *Risala-i Dah Qā'ida*, *Risāla-i-Manāqib*. *Sairu'l-Tālibīn* and *Asrāru'l-Naqt*.
3. This was published at Amritsar in 1321/1903 and has also appeared in an Urdu translation under the title of *Minhāju's-Suluk* (Lahore, 1334/1915). It was also translated into Latin by Ernest Friedrick Carl Rosenmueller in 1825 and into French by C. Solvent in 1829; vide, Ṣūfī, *Kashīr*, I, p. 90.

There is only one collection of letters written by Saiyid 'Alī. This is known as *Risāla-i-Maktūbāt*.[1] It consists of eight letters, but the names of the persons to whom they were addressed are not generally given. Whether written to nobles and rulers, as were the letters of other Ṣufīs such as Shai*kh* Sharafu'd-Dīn Yaḥyā Munyārī of Bihār[2] and Shai*kh* 'Abdu'l-Quddus Gangoh;[3] or addressed to the author's disciples the letters and treatises of Saiyld 'Alī are intended to serve as the basis of his teachings.

Some works of Saiyid 'Alī, which describe Sufism, give only the elementary stages of the Ṣufī path, while others deal with the more advanced stages of the discipline. Their styles therefore differ one from the other. Thus the elementary works, when read along with the advanced ones, seem to contradict the latter. For example, in one treatise the Saiyid says that love of God emerges from the human will,[4] while in another he writes that it depends upon gnosis (*ma'rifa*).[5] The treatise emphasising *irādat* or will deals with the elementary principles of Sufism, while the one devoted to *ma'rifa* embodies the advanced stage of spiritual attainment.

The style of Saiyid 'Alī is not different from that of other Ṣufī writers of those days. He substantiates his teachings with quotations from the Qur'ān and the sayings of the Prophet Muḥammad. Occasionally he quotes ancedotes of the pre-Islamic prophets and eminent religious authorities of early Islam in order to draw morals from them. Verses are also frequently quoted.

He generally asserts his beliefs without entering into controversial discussions, drawing mainly upon those Ṣufīs who followed the teachings of Abu'l-Qāsim al-Junaid (d. 298/

1. Charles Rieu has mentioned *Maktubāt-i-Amīrīya* (*Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, II, f. 836b, Add. 16840, ff. 219a-223b), as being a separate work by Saiyid 'Alī. But an examination reveals that this is merely a copy of a letter included in the *Risāla-i-Maktubāt* (Add. 16840, ff. 162a-165b).
2. Cf. Rizvi, *Muslim Revivalist Movements in Nothern India*, p. 49.
3. Cf. ibid., p. 244.
4. *R.Z.*, f. 282b.
5. *R.M.Az.*, f. 237a.

910), and he quotes mainly from the works of *Ghazālī* (450-505/1058-1111) such as *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* and *Kīmiyā'-i-Sa'ādat*. He does not quote Ash'arī (260-324/873-935) directly but derives his teachings from secondary sources.

Ṣūfic Thoughts

Saiyid 'Ali was both an *'ālim* (scholastie thinker) and a Ṣūfī. As an *'ālim* he addressss the *'amma'-i-khalq* (common people) and expects them to obey the laws prescribed by the Ash'arite system of Sunni theology. As a Ṣūfī he gives an inner and esoteric interpretation of the teachings of Islam which have relevance only for the seekers after Truth, the *arbāb-i-qulūb* (lit. men of heart), and *ṣidīqān* (truthful ones).

While describing the nature of the Godhead Saiyid 'Alī consistently maintains his two-fold approach one that of the *'ālim* and the other that of the Ṣufī. As an *'ālim* he holds that Creator and creatures are two different realities. God is One, eternal and self-existent Being. He is neither matter nor substance. He has no form, nothing is like unto Him, whatsoever one conceives of Him, God the most high is beyond that.[1]

Likewise the Saiyid accepts the eternity of the attributes of God. His attributes, he says, are uncreated, without beginning or end. All Divine revelations are His word and do not stand in need of a mouth in order to be uttered, or of letters in order to be written; their meaning is uncreated.[2]

But as a Ṣfūī he maintains the *wiṣāl* or mystical union is possible between the Creator and created. And this, he says, can be achieved only through the highest degree of *ma'rifa*, the *ma'rifa-i-mushāhada* (gnosis based on contemplation).[3]

The *'ulama* too speak about the *ma'rifa*, but to them it means "right cognition (*'ilm*) of God".[4] As an *'ālim* Saiyid

1. *Z.M.*, pp. 6-7; *R.I.*, f. 244a.
2. Ibid., p. 8; ibid., f. 244a-b.
3. *R.S.M.*, f 269a.
4. Theologians lawyers, and other classes of men give the name of gnosis (*ma'rifat*) to right cognition (*'lim*) of God", says Hujwīrī, "but the Ṣūfī Shaykhs call right feeling (*ḥāl*) by that name". *Kashf.*, Eng. Tr., R.A. Nicholson, p. 267.

'Alī subscribes to this view, but he maintains that this type of *ma'rifa* is of the lowest degree, possessed by common people, who acknowledge that God is unique and everything in the world is His handiwork.[1]

Above them, the Saiyid continues, are *'ulamā-i-rusūm* (the traditional *'ālims*) who possess *ma'rifa-i-istidlālī* (gnosis based on reason). They prove the existence of God on the basis of their worldly knowledge and wisdom.[2]

The highest degree of gnosis is *ma'rifa-mushāhada,* which Saiyid 'Alī defines in his capacity as a Ṣūfī. Here the aspirant is completely absorbed in the contemplation of the nature, attributes and works of God. It is achieved, Saiyid 'Alī points out, when the heart is purged of evil. Those who possess this type of *ma'rifa* have plunged themselves in the mysteries of God in the hope of *wiṣāl.*[3]

The *ma'rifa-i-mushāhada,* Saiyid 'Alī believes is obtained through Divine revelation (*waḥy*) and Divine inspiration (*ilhām* .[4] The Divine revelation obviously is granted to the prophets and Divine inspiration to the saints. But Hujwīrī, an eleventh century Ṣufī scholar, rejects the theory that gnosis is the result of *ilhām* and says : "gnosis supplies a criterion for distinguishing truth from falsehood, whereas the inspired have no such criterion."[5]

However, Saiyid 'Alī divides the recipients of Divine inspiration into three categories. The first, he says, is composed of those whose gnosis is based on mystical ecstasy (*shatḥī*). He is obviously thinking of the Ṣufīs like Bāyazīd Bastamī and Manṣur al-Ḥallāj. To the second category belong *majzūb*[6] who are perplexed in the *bādiya-i-haimān* (lit. desert of thirst). The third is composed of those who are in the stage of

1. *R.S.M.*, f. 269a.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. *Kashf.*, p. 271.
6. Literally means "attracted". The term is used by the Ṣūfīs for a person who is attracted by Divine grace and has little or no control over his actions.

ḥairat (amazement);[1] as Shiblī (d. 334/945) is said to have remarked : "Gnosis is continual amazement (*ḥyrat*)".[2]

Like other Ṣufī writers,[3] Saiyid 'Alī asserts that *ma'rifa* leads to the love of God. The love of God, he writes, emerges from gnosis and the greater the gnosis the more perfect is the love of God.[4] Man's love of God, he insists, is the supreme end of the life of human beings. Those who believe that love cannot exist between man and God are imperfect Ṣūfīs.[5] The unique distinction bestowed upon man by God is that angels were ordered to prostrate themselves before Adam.[6] This took place because man alone was capable of attaining the love of God.[7]

Long before Saiyid 'Alī, Ṣūfīs had accepted love as the ideal relationship between man and God, tracing it back to the Qur'ān[8] and the sayings of the Prophet.[9] In order to justify that none but God is worthy of love, the Ṣūfīs divided love into different categories[10] concluding that since those things for which one feels love originate from God. He alone is to be loved.[11]

Saiyid 'Alī ascribes the inclination for love to five reasons :[12] *maḥabbat-i-nafs* (love of the self), *maḥabbat-i-muḥsin* (love of a benefactor), *maḥabbat-i-ṣāḥib-i-kamāl* (love of a perfect man), *maḥabbat-i-jamīl* (love for the beautiful), and *maḥabbat-i-ta'āruf-i-rūḥānī* (love based on spiritual relationship).

The love of the self is innate in mankind. He wants to

1. *R.S.M.*, f. 269a.
2. *Kashf.*, p. 275.
3. Cf. *Iḥya*, IV, p. 288.
4. *R.M.Az.*, f. 237a.
5. *R.M.A.*, f. 236b. Cf. *Iḥya*, IV, p. 286.
6. Cf. Qur'ān, 2 : 34; 7 : 11.
7. *R.Z.*, f. 282a-b. Cf. Qur'ān, 33 : 72.
8. Cf. ibid., 5 : 54; 2 : 65.
9. Cf. *Kashf.*, pp. 304-5; *Iḥya*, IV, pp. 286ff...
10. Ghazālī attributes impulsion to love to four causes : love of the self, love of a benefactor, love for beauty and love based on affinity between two souls ; cf. *Iḥya*, IV, pp. 289 ff...
11. Cf. ibid.
12. *R.M.Az.*, f. 237a.

preserve his own existence and strives for gains in life and avoids loss. This love for the existence of self is often canalized to the love of the Creator, Who bestows life and existence on every one.

The love for the benefactor emerges from the benefits that the man derives from him. But those who are able to recognise that the highest benefactor is God, cease to think of worldy benefactors and concentrate on God, thereby strengthening their bonds of love with the Almighty.

The love for perfect men emerges from the feelings of reverence to attributes such as knowledge, munificence and piety, with which they are endowed. These ethical virtues invariably make a deep impact on everyone. The respect for virtues and attributes may also lead people to the love of God, Who is the embodiment of all known and unknown attributes.

The love for beauty is the source of infatuation for everything that is beautiful and attractive; it gives pleasure and produces excitement ; for example, a beautiful woman is an object of attraction for all. The love for beauty is also instrumental in directing the mind of man, engrossed in earthly love, to the love of that Highest Being Who is the repository of all beauty.[1]

The love based on spiritual relationship has no worldly source. It is the result of God's own gift and is predestined. He bestows spiritual love on one whom He chooses, without any other cause or reason.[2]

Thus the causes which infuse love into man are combined in their highest perfection in God, so He alone is worthy of

1. He pleads on the basis of a tradition recorded by Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal (780-855), that Allah is Beauty and He loves beauty (cf. Wensinck, *Concordance de La Tradition Musulmane*, I, p. 373). Beauty, the Saiyid says, is the eternal attribute of God, 'and the word 'beauty' can be attributed to none but God. Real beauty is One and with it nothing can be associated. Wherever and in whatever form beauty is seen, it is the reflection of the eternal Beauly; *R.M.Az.*, f. 236a-b.

2. *R.M.Az.*, f. 237a.

love. Since man's love for God is the result of *ma'rifa'* all lovers cannot be endowed with the same degree of love. They differ in the intensity of their love, in proportion to their *ma'rifa*. Therefore Saiyid 'Alī divides the lovers of God into four categories : *a'am* (most common), *'ām* (common), *khāṣ* (select ones) and *akhaṣ* (highest among the select).[1]

According to Saiyid 'Alī's scheme these four classes of people belong to four different (spiritual) worlds, in proportion to their spiritual attainments.

The most common ones, Saiyid 'Alī writes, are the *tālibān* the beginners. Their experience belongs to the world of the senses, which in ordinary Ṣūfī parlance is known as *'ālam-i-nāsūt* or the human world, but which the Saiyid calls *'ālam-i-shahādat* (the visible world.) Here the seeker after Truth operates through his senses. But as he rises higher in the realm of the Ṣūfī experience and overpowers his carnal self, he becomes a *sālik* (devotee) and enters the world of *ghā'ib wa misāl* (invisible of similitude), where he experiences some aspects of Divine beauty and action.[2]

The select are *muqarrabā*, those near to God, who belong to the world of *malakūt* ("psychic substance"). Here the heart of the traveller on the spiritual path begins to experience the reflection of the Divine beauty and obtains some awareness of its truth.

The *Ṣīdiqān*, the highest among the elect, belong to the world of *jabarūt* ("spiritual existence"). Here the Ṣūfī begins to view the Divine beauty in its entirety. When one attains this stage, Saiyid 'Alī says, his love undergoes no change, because the lover at this point is completely drowned in the sea of unity and achieves *fanā* (annihilation in God).[3]

In another treatise, *Kashfu'l-Ḥaqā'iq*, Saiyid 'Alī defines the highest form of the Ṣūfī development as one where he experiences *tajallī-zāt* or the self manifestation of the Essence.[4]

To attain this spiritual end or mystical experience, the Saiyid gives another scheme, a mystical journey, divided into

1. Ibid., f. 237b.
2. Ibid.
3. *R.M.Az.*, f. 237b. See infra pp. 47-8 for the definition of *fanā*.
4. *K.H.*, f. 232a.

four worlds, *mulk* ("the visible world"), *malakūt* ("the world of psychic substance"), *jaburūt* (the world of spiritual existence"), and *lāhūt* ((divinity), which the traveller on the spiritual path has to cover.[1]

In the world of *mulk*, the Sayid says, the seeker does not experience anything of great importance. Whatever occurs to him in this stage is worldly in its nature. But when the noble spirit (*shāhbāz-i-rūḥ*) of the seeker soars higher, he begins to travel in the world of *malakūt*, where he perceives lights of various colours (*anwārāt-i-mutalauwin*) and manifestations of Divine actions, which he has not experienced in the *mulk*.

When he passes beyond this world 'the august bird' (the seeker) who possesses exalted spiritual will, flies in the space of *jabarūt*. Here he becomes ready to receive the manifestation of the Divine qualities and to be associated with Divine virtues. The various coloured lights which appear to him in the *malakūt* are transformed into a single colour. When the seeker makes enough progress he enters the world of *lāhūt* where he receives the manifestation of the Divine essence and achieves *fanā*:[2]

Of all the Ṣūfī terms the most controversial is *fanā* (annihilation or passing away). Śaiyid 'Alī does not give any explanation of the term. However, Hujwīrī says that Abu Sa'īd *Kh*arrāz (d. between 279/892 and 286/899) was first to invent the terms *fanā* and *baqā* (subsistence).[3] Hujwīrī quotes the following definition of *fanā* as given by *Kh*arrāz : "Annihilation [*fanā*] is annihilation of consciousness of manhood (*'ubūdiyyat*), and subsistence [*baqā*] is subsistence in the contemplation of Godhead (*ilāhiyyat*)".[4]

Collating the various definitions of *fanā* given by Ṣūfī scholars who preceded Hujwīrī, he sums up : "annihilation comes to a man through vision of the majesty of God and through the revelation of Divine omnipotence to his heart, so that in the overwhelming sense of His majesty this

1. Ibid.
2. *K.H.*, f. 232b.
3. *Kashf.*, p. 242. See also A.J. Arberry, *Muslim Saints and Mystics*, p. 219.
4. *Kashf.*, p. 245.

world and the next world obliterated from his mind, and 'states' and 'stations' appear contemptible in the sight of his aspiring thought, and what is shown to him of miraculous grace vanishes into nothing : he becomes dead to reason and passion alike, dead even to annihilation itself; and in that annihilation of annihilation his tongue proclaims God, and his mind and body are humble and abased, as in the beginning when Adam's posterity were drawn forth from his loins without admixture of evil and took the pledge of servantship to God (Kor. VII, 171)".[1]

This is the definition which was propounded by Junaid, who believed in the doctrine of *ṣaḥw* (sobriety).[2] But according to Bāyazīd, who indulged in *sukr* (ecstatic drunkenness or intoxication), *fanā* amounts to shedding one's ego "as snakes their skin". In this state man loses his self consciousness and begins to make remarks such as "Glory be to me. How great is my majesty !"; "Thy obedience to me is greater than my obedience to Thee"; "I am the Throne and the Footstool"; "I saw the Kaba walking round me"; and so on.[3]

The third view was set forth by Ibn 'Arabī, who believed in the unity of Being. According to him in the state of *fanā* the Ṣūfī loses sight of the creature and witnesses only the Absolute. Thus the people who witness the Absolute in the creatures and the creatures in the Absolute are believed to have attained the stage of *fanā* and *baqā* in Ibn 'Arabī's terminology.[4]

Saiyid 'Alī devotes an entire treatise entitled *Ṛisāla-i-Dah Qā'ida*, to the contemplative life. The ways to God, he writes, are as numerous as men themselves, but they can be consolidated into three different paths.[5] The first is the *rāh-i-arbāb-i-*

1. *Kashf.*, p. 246.
2. Cf. A. Kader, *Al-Junayd*, pp. 81 ff...
3. H. Ritter's article on Bāyazīd in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (new edition), I, pp. 162-3.
4. Cf. Henry Corbin, *L'Imagination creatrice dans le Soufisme d'Ibn 'Arabī*, Eng. Tr., Ralph Manhein (*Creative Imagination in the Ṣūfism of Ibn 'Arabi*), pp. 203-4, 212 and 228.
5. *R.D.Q.*, f. 134a.

mu'amlāt (the path of those who observe only external rules of the religion). This road is traversed bo common Muslims, who perform only the obligatory duties prescribed by the religion and is a means for their salvation. But *wiṣāl-i-ḥaqīqī* (real union), Saiyid 'Alī points out, cannot be obtained by performing such external devotion.[1]

The second road is that of *arbāb-i-mujāhada* (those who undergo self mortification) and is traversed by the *abrār*, the righteous ones of the community, also called by the Saiyid the *muqtaṣidān* (those who follow the middle path). The basic principle of this path is to wean the *nafs* from evil.[2]

The third path is followed by the *sā'irān-i-ḥazrat-i-ṣamdiat* (travellers to the court of the Most High). This is the most perfect and the noblest of all the paths, and is based on "killing one's own will," as the Prophet has said : "Die before you die."[3] Those who traverse this path attach themselves to the Eternal and soar high in the space of *lāhūt*,[4] the last stage of the mystic journey.

To attain this highest path, Saiyid 'Alī, in common with other Ṣūfī authors,[5] prescribes the following ten rules :[6]

1. *Tauba*
2. *Zuhd*
3. *Tawakkul*
4. *Qanā'at*

1. *RD. a.* f. 134.
2. Ibid.
3. This is attributed by the Ṣūfīs to the Prophet as evidence in support of their claim to have inherited his "esoteric doctrine"; Cf. Nicholson, *Rūmī Poet and Mystic*, p. 131n.
4. *R.D.Q.*, f. 134a-b.
5. Cf. Al-Sarrāj, *Kitābu'l-Luma'*; Ghazālī, *'Ihya;* Suhrawardī, *'Awārifu'l-Ma'ārif*.
   However, they were not always uniform in the number. For example, Al-Sarrāj gives only seven stages (cf. *Kitābu'l-Luma'*, pp. 43 ff.). Ghzālī and Suhrawardī both give ten stages; cf. *Iḥya*, IV, pp. 3ff.; *'Awārifu'l-Ma'ārif*, IV, pp. 335ff.
6. *R.D.Q.*, f. 134b.

5. *'Uzlat*
6. *Zikr*
7. *Tawajjuh*
8. *Ṣabr*
9. *Murāqaba*
10. *Rizā*

Tauba means to "return" and in Ṣūfī terminology it stands for repentance. The Ṣūfīs are divided among themselves on the nature of the *tauba.* According to Zu'l-Nūn Miṣrī (d. 246/861), *tauba* for ordinary men is to repent of their sins and for Ṣūfīs it means to repent of their "heedlessness."[1] Abū Ḥafṣ Hadād (d. 265/879) believes that repentance is God's gift and cannot be acquired by human effort.[2]

Saiyid 'Alī believes that *tauba* is an act by which man can return to God, and prescribes two ways to do so. The one is when one dies, but it is involuntary, as one has no control over death. The other is by making a conscious effort, giving up voluntarily all those things which keep one away from God. Thus for the seeker after Truth all thoughts of the visible and the invisible world are sins.[3]

Zuhd or renunciation demands the voluntary abandonment even of permitted indulgence. Saiyid 'Alī's *zuhd* is even more puritanical. According to him not only should the world and worldly objects and honours be given up, but even the desire for these should be renounced.

Comparing this to the state when one dies and leaves behind all the desires, Saiyid 'Alī urges that Ṣūfī who wishes to tread on the highest path must renounce even desire for objects relating to the next world.[4]

Tawakkul or trust in God demands, the Saiyid writes, that the traveller on the spiritual path should entrust himself and all his ways and works to God in a spirit of complete and unqualified trust.[5]

1. Cf. *Kashf.*, p. 298.
2. Cf. ibid., p. 299.
3. *R.D.Q.*, f. 135a.
4. *R.D.Q.*, ff. 135b-136a.
5. Ibid., f. 136a.

Qanā'at or resignation, according to Saiyid 'Alī, is an act of "stripping oneself of the garments of worldly and beastly desires." The seeker after Truth must accept only what is necessary to maintain his existence.[1]

'Uzlat, literally means "retirement" or "seclusion." The Ṣūfīs hold two different opinions about the nature of *'uzlat*. To some,[2] it means complete retirement from the world and worldly people; while others[3] believe that this type of solitude exposes the self to increasingly more Satanic suggestions. The latter advocate inner seclusion and what they call the enjoyment of solitude while in assembly.

Saiyid 'Alī does not reject or accept either of the above views. He divides *'uzlat* in two stages. In the first stage, according to the Saiyid, the seeker must turn his back on mankind and keep himself away from the people. He must sever all ties, outward, and inward, except relations with his guide, who purifies his heart and mind as the *ghasāl* (one who washes the corpse) washes the dead body. This type of *'uzlat*, comparing the seeker to a patient, he says, serves the needs of *parhez* (lit. abstinence). As *parhez* removes all undesirable matters from the body of a sick man, the retirement from the world purifies and removes traces of "other than God" from his heart and mind.

In its higher aspect, the second stage of *'uzlat*, according to Saiyid 'Alī, is to divert the senses from the forbidden to the lawful. In this state a person, although he lives among the people, is isolated and severed from the rest of mankind[4].

Ẓikr, the literal meaning of which is "recollection" or "remembrance", is used by the Ṣūfīs especially for remembrance or praise of God. *Ẓikr*, Saiyid 'Alī writes, is the conscious recollection of God, to the exclusion of all that is "other than God".[5] The most excellent *zikr*, the Saiyid believes, is

1. R. D. Q.
2. Cf. *Kashf.*, p. 103.
3. Cf. ibid., pp. 72, 190 and 338.
4. *R.D.Q.*, f. 135a-b.
5. *R.D.Q.*, f. 135b.

lā ilāha illā'l-lāh ("there is no god but God").[1] It is a spiritual medicine, he says, composed of both negative and positive elements. *Lā ilāha* is the negative element of the *zikr*, it purifies the self from evil such as jealousy, pride, greed and hypocrisy. Each of these evils, according to Saiyid 'Alī, is a chain for the soul, and sickness of the heart. *Lā ilāha* cuts off the chain and purifies the heart, which is the dwelling place of God.[2]

The affirmation *illā'l-lāh*, the positive element, makes the heart healthy and protects it from evil dispositions. "It directs self to piety. The effulgence of the light of unity (*nūr-i-waḥdat*) dispels the darkness of plurality, it makes the soul, the ruler, the deputy of God, manifest itself on the throne of firm belief in the Divine beauty, and enables the body to brighten itself with the light of the guidance of that Beauty."[3]

When the *zikr* obtains complete domination over the heart of the *zākir* (one who recites *zikr*), "the vestiges of the maginary existence of the *zakir*[4] begin to search through the ays of the sun of *wujūd* (Being). The dust of the adversity of xistence (of the *zākir*) and *zikr* are destroyed. The Beauty of the *mazkūr* (object of meditation, God), manifests itself in the person of the *zākir* and confirms the Divine promise.[5] "If you look towards Me, I shall look towards you."[6] This is the highest stage or the goal for which the Ṣūfī strives. Here the *zikr* is obliterated and the beauty of the *mazkūr* (God) manifests itself in the being of the *zākir*.[7]

In another treatise, entitled *Risāla-i-Zikrīya*, Saiyid 'Alī categorically rejects the *zikr-i-jahr* (*zikr* recited aloud or outwardly), and recommends only *zikr-i-khafī* (*zikr* recited silently or inwardly).[8] On the basis of certain verses of the

1. *R.Z.*, f. 285a.
2. *R.D.Q.*, ff. 135b-136a.
3. Ibid., f. 136a.
4. "*rusūm-i-wujūd-i-mauhūm-i-zākir.*"
5. Qur'ān, 57:4.
6. *R.D.Q.*, f. 136a.
7. Ibid., f. 136a.
8. *R.Z.*, f. 283a.

Qur'ān[1] and injunctions of *hadīs*, the Saiyid pleads that *zikr-i-khafī* is a superior way of reciting the name of God. It is more respectful and leads the seeker to God in a most befitting manner.[2]

Tawajjuh, literally means "attention" or "concentration." The Ṣūfīs define the term as turning oneself devoutly to God in such a way that one loses one's self-consciousness in search of God.[3] Saiyid 'Alī too says that *tawajjuh* means to turn to God entirely. When one is diverting one's attention to God, he writes, one's thoughts should be completely absorbed in Him, and should not be distracted by things other than God. Even if the stages attained by all the great saints (muqarrabān) were told he should not pay attention to them.[4] The Saiyid, quoting Junaid, approvingly that if a true seeker treads on the path to God for thousands of years and shows negligence for a single moment, he loses all those blessings earned during a thousand odd years.[5]

Ṣabr, which means "patience" is mentioned in the Qur'ān in many places and a patient man is highly praised.[6] The Ṣūfīs too regard it as a noble stage on the path to God.[7] According to Saiyid 'Alī patience is the basis of all worship. In the real sense of the term, he continues, it means to subdue one's carnal self, and to inculcate love for God's worship, and firmness in *mujāhada*. Through mortification the carnel self is purified. If all connections with worldly objects, which are attractive to everyone, are severed the soul is brightened, but this can be achieved only through ṣabr.[8]

1. Cf. 7:55; 49:2.
2. *R.Z.*, f. 286a.
3. "Concentration [*tawajjuh*]", says Abū Bakr Kallābhadī, means that they [the Ṣūfīs] are absent from being present (in this world), and from regarding themselves as self-determining...." *Kitābu'l-Ta'aruf li Mazhab ahl al-Tasawwuf*, Eng. Tr. Arberry (*The Doctrine of the Ṣūfīs*), p. 127.
4. *R.D.Q.*, f. 136b.
5. Ibid.
6. Qur'ān, 8:46; 11:11.
7. Cf. *Kitabu'l-Luma'*, p. 39; *Iḥya*, IV, p. 61.
8. *R.D.Q.*, ff. 136b-137a.

Saiyid 'Alī considers a true Ṣūfī to be one who meets trials and affliction with a smiling face. In another treatise, *Maqāmatu'l-Ṣūfīya*, he writes: "Even if the Ṣūfī suffers from the calamities of both the visible and invisible worlds, he should not utter a sigh (in grief). And if he is subjected to the hardship of both worlds, he should accept them patiently."[1]

Murāqaba, literally means "contemplation." In its real sense, Saiyid 'Alī says, it amounts to giving up all authority and activity over which the seeker has control. It is an instrument in the hands of Ṣūfīs, he goes on, through which they try to achieve their goal and concentrate on nothing else but God. Purifying their hearts and souls, they await the Divine grace. They swim in the ocean of Divine unity and make themselves the moth of the lamp of Divine beauty. Their heart kindles through the light of Divine contemplation. They abandon the dark lane, which leads to an ephemeral goal, and travel on the wide lane of the Divine light.[2]

The literal meaning of the term *rizā* is "to be pleased." It is the last of the stages and denotes a condition in which the seeker is always pleased with whatever befalls him.[3] Some Ṣūfīs believe it to be *ḥāl*[4] (state) and some a *maqām* (stage).[5]

Saiyid 'Alī, like Sarrāj[6] and *Gh*azālī,[7] regards it as a

1. *Muqāmatu'l Ṣūfīya*, f. 275b.
2. *R.D.Q.*, f. 137a-b.
3. Cf. Nicholson, *Mystics of Islam*, p. 41.
4. *Maqām* and *ḥāl* differ in their meaning. *Maqām* is that which one acquires oneself and *ḥāl* on the other hand represents a gift of Divine grace, over which one has no control. "Station [*maqām*]", says Hujwīrī, "belongs to the category of acts, 'state' [*ḥāl*] to the category of gifts"; *Kashf.*, p. 181.
5. According to Qushairī, the mystic scholars of *Kh*urāsān hold that *rizā* is a *maqām*, and the 'Irāqī school on the other hand took it to be a *ḥāl* (cf. A.J. Arberry, *Sufism*, p. 77). But according to Hujwīrī the doctrine attributed by Qushairī to the *Kh*urāsānīs was also held by the 'Irāqīs and vice versa; cf. *Kashf.*, pp. 176-7.
6. Cf. *Kitābu'l-Luma'*, p. 53.
7. Cf. *Iḥya*, IV, p. 333.

maqām and says that it is the highest of all the stages. *Rizā*, he writes, is that Ṣūfīs should stop taking interest in themselves in order to gain the satisfaction of the beloved (*maḥbūb*, i.e., God). Whatever the Ṣūfīs wish to attain by their individual efforts, the Saiyid continues, is invariably of a mean and low order. But when they think no more of their own plans and entrust the great works to the Great One, they begin to receive limitless grace and start to shine with the the Divine light and fly into the wide expanse of *lāhūt*.[1]

The Ṣūfī scholars divided the saints into a hierarchy commensurate with their attainments and progress in the path of devotion to God. The hierarchy of the saints described by the Hujwīrī is interlinked. On the basis of some Qur'ānic verses,[2] Hujwīrī asserts that the saints are the chosen ones of God, whom "He has specially distinguished by His friendship."[3] However, he divides them broadly into two categories, "the governors of the universe" through whose blessings "the rain falls from heaven, and through the purity of their lives the plants spring up from the earth...." Their number, he says, is four thousand and they are "concealed and do not know one another and are not aware of the excellence of their state...".[4]

The second category belong to those "who have power to loose and to bind and are the officers of the Divine Court. There are three hundred, called *Akhyār*, and forty, called *Abdāl*, and seven, called *Abrār*, and four, called *Awtād*, and three, called *Nuqabā*, and one, called *Qutb* or *Gowth*. All these know one another and cannot act save by mutual consent".[5]

The categories made by Saiyid 'Alī are not so closely interlinked, but his description gives an understanding of his

1. *R.D.Q.*, ff. 137b-138a.
2. Cf. 2:257; 10-62.
3. *Kashf.*, p. 212.
4. Ibid., p. 213.
5. Ibid., p. 214.

approach to Sufism. He divides the saints into the following two categories:[1]

1. *Muqtaṣidān* (those who follow a moderate course).
2. *Sābiqān-i-ṣafūf-i-wilāyat* (leaders of the ranks of sainthood).

Before proceeding to describe these categories, Saiyid 'Alī asserts that God created man in order to manifest His great mystery. He endowed man with reason and faith, so that he might select for himself the ideal path. But, the Saiyid points out, the overwhelming majority of men did not accept the guidance of their reason or faith and adopted paths which made them cruel, obstinate, stubborn, and negligent. In fact they were misled by their carnal self and only a few were able to follow the right path of reason and faith. Those who deviated from the right path were not able to reach their goal, and did not fulfil the objective for which they were created. But the *muqtaṣidān* and *sābiqān-i-ṣafūf-i-wilāyat*, he goes on to say, did comply with conditions which were responsible for their creation.[2]

The *Muqtaṣidān* are those, Saiyid 'Alī adds, who tread on the right path. They are the people who succeed in crushing the beastly elements in their nature, and seek to lead a pure and pious life. They overcome the difficulties and afflictions of the worldly life. This, he says, is a real *jihād* (effort, struggle), in the way to God. Those who fight this *jihād*, the Qur'ān[3] addresses thus: "Fear not, nor be grieved, and receive good news of the Garden which you were promised".[4]

Above them is the category of *sābiqān-i-ṣafūf-i-wilāyat*. They are the people who are not engrossed in the darkness of *nāsūt*, and have found a place in the wide expanse of *lāhūt*. They consume their moth-like imaginary existence with the light of the lamp of Divine Majesty. By annihilating their ephemeral existence they find an everlasting life with

1. *R.Z.*, f. 280b.
2. Ibid., ff. 280b-281a.
3. 41:30.
4. *R.Z.*, f. 281a.

Divine Majesty.[1]

In a different treatise called the *Risāla-i-Futūḥīya*, Saiyid 'Alī mentions a category of the Ṣūfīs known as *maqbulān* (accepted ones),[2] and further sub-divides them into two groups: *muqarrabān* and *abrār*.

The *muqarrabān*, he writes, are the travellers on the path of *tarīqa* and the soldiers of the battle field of *ḥaqīqa*. They do not pollute their spirit with all that is transitory and do not bother themselves with the problems of space and time. They direct their energies and ideas to the Unattainable (God). They subdue their reason, control their carnal self and the lusts and desires of both worlds.[3]

They withdraw themselves from all created beings, kill their consciousness and yearn for nothing but to find an everlasting existence in the ocean of Divine unity. They are not concerned with subtleties of the nature of *wujūd* or hair-splitting doctrines related to it and try to see God through God. They pass through the narrow world of *'ubūdīya* (servitude) and fly into the world of *huwīya* (Divine essence). Sometimes the horse of their yearning gallops in the plains of Divine love; often it is melted in the plain of *shuhūd* (visible world), through the light of the sun of unity (*aḥdīya*). The existence of created beings depends upon them. The light of their mysteries kindles the lamp of the assembly of all the spiritually minded.[4]

The *muqarrabān*, as envisaged by Saiyid 'Alī, are no other than those whom Ibn 'Arabī calls "Perfect Men;"[5] through them God manifests Himself to all created beings. Thus Saiyid 'Alī, without quoting Ibn 'Arabī direct, reiterates his ideas with a veneer of orthodoxy.

The *abrār*, the second group of *maqbulān*, are further subdivided by Saiyid 'Alī into two classes:[6]

1. *R.Z.* f. 281a-b.
2. *R.F.*, f. 257a.
3. Ibid., f. 257a-b.
4. Ibid., f. 257.b.
5. Cf. Corbin, *Creative Imagination in the Sufism of Ibn 'Arabī*, pp. 131ff.
6. *R.F.*, ff. 257b-258a.

1. Those who are devoted to the service of mankind and are known as *ahl-i-futūwat* (bountiful).

2. Those who are so devoted to God that they have no concern with worldly people.

The second class of *abrār* is again sub-divided by the Saiyid into two : *wālihān-i-tarīqa*[1] (lit. astonished ones of the path of *tarīqa*) or *maslūb'l-'aql*[2] (bereft of reason); and *zāhidān*[3] (ascetics) or *zū 'aql*[4] (endowed with reason).

The *wālihān-i-tarīqa* are bewildered with Divine love, they have no control over their senses and reason, and they drown themselves in the ocean of Divine unity. They are not even able to perform the obligatory prayers. Such people, Saiyid 'Alī writes, should neither be followed nor rejected.[5]

The *Zāhidān*, guided by reason, are convinced that the world is contemptible and is full of deceit and evil. Realising that worldly goods are associated with thousands of calamities and misfortunes, they voluntarily give up all pleasures and enjoyment and spend their lives in acts of devotion of all kinds. Although they appear to be feeble, spiritually they are strong and prosperous.[6]

The *ahl-i-futūwat* consist of those whose hearts are full of kindness and compassion for others. Their existence is the source of comfort for mankind. They spend their lives and wealth in treating their fellow-men kindly and generously.[7]

Saiyid 'Alī quotes the sayings of various Ṣūfīs about the nature and qualities of *ahl-i-futūwat*. Ḥasan Baṣrī (21-110/641-728), he writes, has said that those who are the enemies of their carnal self belong to the *ahl-i-futūwat*. Faṣil 'Abbās (Fuzail 'Iyāz, d.187/802), remarked that the *ahl-i-futūwat* are those who are kind and distribute their wealth to the people indiscriminately to friend and foe, or believer and non-believer. Yaḥyā

1. *R.F.*, f. 258a.
2. *Ms. C.*, f. 289a.
3. *R.F.*, f. 258a.
4. *Ms. C.*, f. 289a.
5. *R.F.*, f. 258a.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.

ibn Ma'āz (d. 258/871), believed that the *ahl-i-futūwat* have three virtues : they are pious, honest and loyal to their friends.[1]

However, Saiyid 'Alī, on the authority of the Caliph 'Alī, asserts that the main pillars of *futūwat* are four:[2]

1. To forgive despite power to wreak vengeance.
2. To exhibit patience in anger.
3. To wish well even to an enemy.
4. To prefer the needs of others to one's own.

One who has these four qualities and at the same time devotes himself to God, the Saiyid says, is called *akhī* (lit. brother).[3] However, he adds that in the Ṣūfī parlance the term is used in three different senses : *'ām* (common people), *khāṣ* (elect ones), and *akhaṣ* (choicest among the elect).[4]

The common people use the term in its literal meaning. Those who have the same father or mother call one another brother. It is customary for them to call someone else brother, but in fact they never count him as such.[5]

To the category of *khāṣ* belong the *'ulamā* and the excellent believers who are above hypocrisy and the usual customs. They use the term in its ideal meaning (*naṣb-i-ḥaqīqi*) and in accordance with the Qur'ānic[6] injunction "The believers are brethren," they take every Muslim as their brother.[7]

The *akhaṣ* include the *arbāb-i-qalūb* and *ahl-i-taḥqīq*, who use the term *akhī* in its technical sense (*iṣtlāḥī*). They call one of their disciples *akhī* if they notice in him the qualities of *ahl-i-futūwat* and religious and spiritual knowledge.[8] But, Saiyid 'Alī adds, such a person should not miss a single *sunna* of the Prophet and should have no regard for this world.[9] At the same

1. *R.F.*, ff. 255b-256a.
2. Ibid., f. 256b.
3. Ibid., f. 261a.
4. Ibid., f. 255a.
5. Ibid.
6. 49:10.
7. *R.F.*, f. 255a.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid., f. 256a.

time he should mix with all people, but in spirit he should be away from them, busy in His adoration.[1] He should be a man of laudable character, his manners full of virtue, respectful to his elders, an adviser to those of his own age, affectionate to those younger than himself, kind to the weak, generous to the poor, modest and humble to scholars, an enemy of the unjust, loving to those in distress, at war with his *nafs*, but at peace with people.[2]

Such a person, Saiyid 'Alī points out, will eventually be appointed by the Shai*kh* (guide) as his *khalīfa* or successor and invested with a *khirqa* (cloak), which he calls *khil'at-i-faqr* (the robe of piety).[3] The *khirqa* was a certificate indicating the perfection reached by its recipient.

Saiyid 'Alī, like all other Ṣūfīs, writes that no one can travel on the path to God without the guidance of a preceptor who is duly authorised to initiate disciples.[4] Knowledge acquired by personal effort is of no avail.[5] Unless an individual acquires even an external knowledge under a teacher, his discourses cannot be accepted and his judgement cannot be trusted although he may be quite intelligent and well-read. The same is the case, the Saiyid argues, with those who pursue the path of the *tarīqa*. An individual might perform ascetic exercises and mortifications for hundreds of years, but this would be of no use unless he serves a man expert in the *tarīqa*. Saiyid 'Alī writes that the Prophet Muḥammad imbued 'Alī, the commander of the faithful, with it and the chain of all living saints (guides) goes back to him. This is the secret of the *tarīqa* and the *silsila*.[6]

In another treatise, called *Risāla-i-Darweshīya*, Saiyid 'Alī asserts that religious and spiritual guidance is a very specialised

1. *R.F.*, f. 256b.
2. Ibid., f. 261a-b.
3. Ibid., f. 255a.
4. *Ghazālī* held that one who has no *pīr* to guide him will be led from the true path by Satan; cf. *K.Sa.*, p. 268.
5. Hujwīrī called such people "ignorant pretenders;" *Kashf.*, p. 17.
R.F., f. 255a.

subject. Without the protection of a perfect and experienced person, he believes, no one can transcend the bondage and darkness of desires.[1] The essential realities of all devotions, he writes, are only known to the prophets, physicians of the faith, the saints, the holy ones of the path of the *tarīqa* and the *'ulamā*.[2] They are endowed with knowledge and teach the disciples according to their capacity and prescribe remedies suitable to the spiritual ailments and the diseases of heart. He illustrates his point through the example of worldly physicians and says that although the medicines might be innumerable, only a particular medicine is prescribed for a particular disease in accordance with the nature of the disease, which is known only to the physicians. The same is the case with the Ṣūfī path, although the forms of devotion are innumerable and all of them are true, the particular disease of the heart of a devotee can be cured only through a particular devotion. He reminds his readers that the remedies of the sickness of heart are known only to the prophets, saints, religious scholars and the physicians of the faith.[3]

Saiyid 'Alī warns that the teachers for the acquisition of different types of religious knowledge should be selected with care, the reason being that a large number of scholars have emerged in all parts of the Islamic world who call their frivolous disputes *kalām* (scholastic theology). They think senseless logic and vain talk to be philosophy. They pursue knowledge in order to again fame but in fact they are not acquainted with the realities of religion. They ignore the teachings of the Qur'ān and *sunna* and do not care for the subtle points of Divine knowledge, and thus they misguide people.[4]

Because of such teachers, Saiyid 'Alī continues, people have deviated from the real path of religion and are in-

1. Ghazālī had already declared that the gains from the errors of the *pīr* were greater than what the disciple would gain on his own, even if he was right; cf. *K. Sa.*, p. 268.
2. *R.Dr.*, f. 249b.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., f. 251a-b.

dulging in heresy and infidelity. They are instruments for corrupting the open road to *sharī'a.* Such people pose themselves as *'ālims* and Ṣūfīs and in that garb they propagate *kufr.* The world is full of such people. Thus, he urges, that only those *'ālims* should be selected for obtaining religious knowledge, who are not hypocrites but are endowed with piety and righteousness.[1]

By making obedience to the Divine command and suppression of carnal desires a precondition of true Islam, Saiyid 'Alī raises the true *'alīm* to the status of a Ṣūfī. Distinguishing between *īmān* (faith) and Islam, he says that salvation is obtained through *īmān* and religious and worldly prosperity are gained through Islam.[2]

Pillars of Islam

Most of Saiyid 'Alī's works, especially the *Risāla-i-I'tiqādīya* and sections in the *Zakhīratu'l-Mulūk,* are devoted to the exposition of the pillars of Islam.[3] In the very first pages of the *Zakhīratu'l-*Mulūk, Saiyid 'Alī poses the question whether Islam is identical with *īmān.* This question has remained a subject of hot controversy among Muslim scholars.[4] Its material was provided by the Qur'ān[5] and *hadīs,*[6] both of which used Islam and *īmān* as "different terms of different meaning, and as related terms the one being a part of the other".[7]

1. *R.Dr.,* f. 251b.
2. Ibid.
3. *Īmān* (faith), *ṣalāt* or *namāz* (prayer), *ṣaum* or *roza* (fast), *zakāt* and *ṣadaqa* (alms) and *hajj* (pilgrimage).
4. According to Ash'arī : "Islam is more extensive than faith, and...the whole of Islam is not faith" (*Ibnā'an Uṣūlu'l-Diyāna,* Eng. Tr., by R.J. McCarthy, *The Theology of Al-Ash'arī* p. 243). Again in *Mcqōlātu'l-Islāmīyyin* (Eng. Tr., R.J. McCarthy, op. cit., p. 243), he asserts that Islam is other than faith.

   Ghazālī life Hujwīrī (cf. *Kashf.*, p. 268), says that *īmān* means acceptance [of the beliefs] and Islam, he says, is submission and surrender to God; cf. Nabih Amīn Faris, *The Foundations of the Articles of Faith,* p. 100.
5. In verses 51:35-6, both the terms are used synonymously and in 49:41, as terms of different meaning.
6. Cf. M. 'Alī, *A Manual of Hadith,* pp. 23-4,
7. Faris, op. cit., p. 100,

Saiyid 'Alī bases his theory on a well known *hadīs*, which sets up a distinction between *īmān* and Islam. It says *īmān* consists in believing in God, His angels, His books, His prophets and predestination. Islam is the worship of God without associating anything with Him and the belief in the prophethood of Muḥammad. Islam urges its followers to say prayers (five times daily), to observe the fast (in the month of Ramaẓān), to pay the *Zakāt*, and to perform the pilgrimage.[1]

From this Saiyid 'Alī concludes that Islam is not identical with *īmān*. *Imān* indicates the acceptance of the religion and Islām demands the performance of duties associated with the religion.[2] As an Ash'arite,[3] he holds that *Imān* is the attestation by heart of its principles, but perfect *īmān*, he states, is that which secures one freedom from hell-fire and brings one near to God.[4]

One who affirms the principles of *īmān* in words alone and not with his heart, according to Saiyid 'Alī, is a *munāfiq* (hypocrite) and he is worse than a *kāfir* (heretic).[5] This is an

1. *Z.M.*, pp. 3-4. This *hadīs* itself occurs in different forms. Muḥammad bin Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī reports it on the authority of Abū Ḥurairāh and Abu'l-Ḥusain on 'Umar's authority. In 'Umar's version Islam includes also the pilgrimage (cf. Fazlul-Karim, *Al-Ḥadīs*, I, pp. 94-6). But this is omitted in Ḥurairāh's version (cf. M. 'Alī, *A Manual of Ḥadith*, p. 22) And the latter, in describing *īmān* says that the Prophet has said : "in meeting with Him", instead of belief in "predestination" as reported by the former.
2. *Z.M.*, pp. 4-5.
3. Ash'arī also maintains that faith is the attestation of its principles by heart; cf. Qushairī, *Risāla*, Urdu, Tr., Muḥammad Ḥusain, p. 31.
4. *Z.M.*, p. 5.
5. Ibid.

The Murji'tes (a sect of Muslims who believe that the judgement of every true believer, who has been guilty of a grievious sin, will be deferred till the Resurrection), did not declare a person infidel, because of the fact that he was nominally a Muslim. Faris, *The Foundations of the Articles of Faith*, p. 109, n. 1.

According to Qushairī, it is by verbal profession that one can differentiate between a believer and a disbeliever. And for those who do not believe that *īmān* is simply a verbal profession it is difficult to make a difference between a believer and an unbeliever, cf. *Risāla*, p. 30.

extreme Ṣūfī view for both Qushairī[1] and Ghazālī[2] give the benefit of the doubt to such a person and accept him as a member of the Muslim community, on the grounds that no one except God and the person concerned know the reality of the innermost heart.

Those who affirm by tongue and attest by heart, the Saiyid continues, yet fail to act upon their beliefs, are *fāsiq* (reprobate),[3] and are destined to remain in hell for a period commensurate with their sins. The period may extend from a moment to seventy thousand years.[4]

Like all Muslim scholars Saiyid 'Alī lays great stress on *ṣalāt* or *namāz* (prayer). He pleads that it should hold precedence over all other acts of devotion.[5] But the key to prayer, the Saiyid writes, is purification,[6] which is of three kinds—firstly of the clothes and body, secondly of the *nafs* (lower-soul), and thirdly of the heart.[7]

He who does not purify his body and clothes prior to prayer, the Saiyid asserts, is *najs* (unclean) according to the *ahl-i sharī'a* (the followers of the law, i.e., theologians). Obviously this concerns common Muslims. The other two kinds of purification can be achieved only by travellers on the spiritual path. The *ahl-i ṭarīqa* (Ṣūfīs), the Saiyid says, consider those who do not purify their *nafs* as *najs*; and *ahl-i kashf wa taḥqīq* (men who have received revelation, i.e., advanced Ṣūfīs) think that one is *najs* unless one purifies one's heart from everything other than God.[8]

1. Cf. ibid., pp. 31-2.
2. Cf. Faris, op. cit., p. 110.
3. Ghazālī calls *fāsiq* one who, besides having inward adherence and verbal confession, also performs some of the acts prescribed by the religion; cf. Faris, op. cit., p. 105.
4. *Z.M.*, p. 5.
5. Ibid., p. 20.
6. The Prophet is also reported to have said that the key to paradise is prayer and the key to prayer is purification; cf. M. 'Alī, *A Manual of Hadith*, p. 42.
7. *R.I.*, f. 246a.
8. Ibid., f. 246a.

Elsewhere, Saiyid 'Alī classifies the purification of the travellers of the spiritual path into three categories. The first, he says, are *abrār*, who cleanse all parts of their body from sin, the second are *sālikān* (devotees), who purify the *nafs* from evil and the third are *ṣidīqān*, who cleanse their hearts from everything except God.[1]

Thus Saiyid 'Alī, like other Muslim scholars, holds purification to be a necessary preliminary to prayer. He is critical of the prayer offered by the common Muslims, who, in his opinion, do not understand the essence of prayer. They pray with lips[2] alone and face the *qibla* mechanicaliy.[3]

The real meaning of prayer, he goes on to say, can be understood only by *arbāb-i-qulūb*, who, while going to pray, banish all desires from their minds and purify their hearts from any thoughts but those of God.[4] They face the real *qibla*, that is God. And when they recite *subḥānaka allāhumma* ("May you be exalted, O Almighty God"), they fly into the world of sanctity (*'alam-i-taqaddus*).[5]

Prayer, Saiyid 'Alī says, connects the creature with the Creator, and is a medium through which man can approach God.[6] The real meaning of prayer, he writes, is *munājāt* (invocation)[7], which is impossible without concentration.

1. *Z.M.*, p. 27.
2. Cf. Qur'ān, 4:142.
3. *R.M.*, f. 163a; *R F.*, f. 258b.

   Jalāu'd-Dīn Tabrīzī (one of the disciples of Shai*kh* Shihābu'd-Dīn Suhrawardī) is reported to have said to the governor of Badāūn, Qazī Jamālu'd-Dīn Ja'frī, that the prayer of the *'ulamā* is different from that of the saints, who do not perform praye· unless they see *'arsh* (lit. the throne of God), whereas the *'ulamā* pray just by facing towards the Ka'ba; *fawā'idu'l-Fu'ād*, p. 249.
4. *R.M.*, f. 163a-b; *R.F.*, f. 258b; *Z.M.*, p. 27.
5. Ibid., f. 163b; ibid., f. 259a; ibid., p. 27.
6. *R.F.*, f 259a.
7. *Munājāt* is v.n. of *najī*, which means "secret discourse between two persons or parties" (cf. E.W. Lane, *An Arabic English Lexicon*, p. 3028. See also pp. 2764-5). The Prophet is reported to have said that when a person is engaged in prayer he is in intimate converse with his Lord; Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, 39, cited by Constance E. Padwick, *Muslim Devotions*, p. 11.

Indeed *munājāt* means *mukhataba* (conversation) and a true conversation can be held only by an *'ārif*, who would have attained the degree of perfection.[1]

Saiyid 'Alī asserts that fasting is compulsory for every Muslim, whether rich or poor, although the poor are relieved from the obligation of *zakāt* and *ḥajj*, two of the other five principles of Islam.[2]

Fasting he writes, includes six things as *farẓ* ("an ordinance of God") and seven as *sunna* ("what the Prophet did himself or what he told his followers to do").[3] As a Sunnī *'ālim*, he insists that the fast must be broken immediatedly when the sun sets[4] and not, like the Shī'īs, when it is completely dark.

The common Muslims, in his opinion, observe the fasting of the lowest degree, since they act upon the minimum external rules demanded by the religion.[5] As a Ṣūfī, he believes that fasting is not only abstaining from eating and drinking from dawn to sunset, but purifying the carnal self (*tazkiya-i-nafs*). The merit of fasting, he writes, is that through it a man can control his passions and cultivate the habit of abstaining from evil. Fasting closes the door upon Satan. It kills the concupiscence of *nafs-i-ammāra* (inordinate appetite), which is the enemy of one's faith ; and subdues the passions and the sensual forces. Fasting purifies and illuminates the mirror of the heart and prepares it for *mujāhada* (self-mortification). The carnal-self, the Saiyid goes on, is always under attack from the devil. Only fasting can save it from the devil, and fasting will also restrain passions and sins.[6]

However, Saiyid 'Alī asserts that even travellers on the path of God do not fulfil the conditions of the fast alike, and he divides them into two categories. To the first category

1. *R F.*, f. 259b; *R.M.*, f. 163a.
2. *Ẓ.M.*, p. 5; *R.I*, f. 248b.
3. Ibid., f. 248b.
4. Ibid.
5. *Ẓ.M.*, p. 51.
Hujwīrī calls this type of fasting "child's play"; *Kashf.*, p. 322.
6. *Ẓ.M*, p. 47,

belong the *ṣidīqān* and *muqarrabān*. They purify the heart and expel from it any thought other than that of God. They detach themselves from all worldly ties and consider it the greatest sin to think of either this world or the next.

The *abrār, atqiyā'* (devout), and *ṣulḥā* (pious) belong to the second category. Besides following the basic precepts, prescribed by the religion, they abstain from all evil and falsehood. Even their eyes, ears, hands and feet observe the fast. They take special care to control their eyes which transmit sensations and feelings to other members of the body.[1]

Zakāt literally means "purification", in Islam the term is used in the sense of a contribution of two and one half per cent of certain categories of property for the use of the poor and needy, as a means of purifying the remainder.[2]

Like all Ṣūfīs Saiyid 'Alī divides devotion into two categories : *badanī* (relating to the body, i.e., prayer and fasting), and *mālī* (connected with wealth). Since the common people cannot adore God adequately through bodily devotion, the Saiyid writes, they must therefore seek His pleasure by spending their wealth on those of their fellow men who are poor and in distress.[3]

As people find it difficult to part with their wealth, Saiyid 'Alī regards payment of *zakāt* as one of the most important tests of a believer's devotion.[4] He recommends that it be paid at once on becoming due. Although he sees haste in other matters such as prayer, inadvisable,[5] with *zakāt* it carries certain advantages. Not only does it show the willingness of the *mu'ṭī* (bestower) to fulfil the ordinance of Allāh, but prompt payment makes the *mustaḥaq* (deserving) cheerful,

1. *Z. M.*, p. 51.
2. According to Al-Māwardī *zakāt* is due on all those things which produce income or which can be increased with one's efforts (*Aḥkāmu's-Sulṭānīya*, Urdu, tr., M. Ibrāhīm, p. 171). And Hujwīrī maintains that *zakāt* should be paid even on *jāh* (dignity) because it is also a complete benefit; *Kashf.*, p. 314.
3. *R.M.*, f. 162b.
4. *Z.M.*, pp. 35-6.
5. Ibid., p. 39.

which is the worthiest of all good actions. And prompt payment also removes the temptation to prevent the loss of wealth.[1]

The beneficiaries of *zakāt*, in Saiyid 'Alī's view, should possess any of the five following qualities : *taqwā* (piety), *'ilm* (knowledge), *'iffat* (chastity), *zarūrat* (need), and *qurbat* (kinship).[2]

By *taqwā*, Saiyid 'Alī means piety, regularity in prayer and abstention from *bid'at* (innovations in matters of religion). To pay *zakāt* to *ahl-i-taqwā*, the Saiyid points out, is to free them from the necessity of earning their living and to help them to apply themselves wholly to God.[3]

To the second category belong those who seek *'ilm* (knowledge), by which he means the knowledge which leads one to *tauḥīd* and *m'rifa* of God.[4]

The *ahl-i-'iffat* are those who endeavour to conceal their poverty from the mean and ignorant. They courageously face the hardships of life in silence. They maintain self-control for the sake of Allāh; so Saiyid 'Alī asserts that it is better to give one *dirham* to them than to give a hundred *dirhams* to dishonest beggars.[5]

The *ahl-i-iztirār* are those unfortunate brought low by the burden of huge families, illness and other calamities beyond their control. It is imperative, the Saiyid says, for officials and men of good fortune to pay them annually from the *ḥaqqu'l-lāh* ("the right of God"), according to their needs.[6]

The fifth class, *aqrāb*, consists of relatives, neighbours and friends. To such of these as are deserving, the *mu'ti* should give preference over all others.[7]

1. *Z.M.* p. 39.
2. Ibid., p. 43.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p. 45.
5. Ibid., pp. 45-6.
6. Ibid , p. 46.
7. Ibid.

Although the Qur'ān[1] does not prohibit the open payment of *zakāt*, Saiyid 'Alī strongly recommends that it be paid secretly. By paying secretly, the Saiyid pleads, the bestower does not seek to advertise himself, but follows the injunction of the Prophet according to whom this method of payment is the most acceptable way of devotion to God. He who gives charity with the right hand and keeps the left unaware is going to be among those seven people who are blessed by God's mercy on the day of Judgement.[2] However, the Saiyid says that holy men, who are free from hypocrisy, should give openly in order that the act might serve as a precedent to the hesitant.[3]

Saiyid 'Alī follows *Gh*azālī,[4] in holding that the receiver of alms is the deputy of God. Thus whatever one gives in charity for the sake of Allāh should be pure. This, he writes, is also commanded by the Qur'ān:[5] "O you who believe ! Give in charity of the good things you earn and of what We have brought forth for you out of earth, and do not aim at giving in charity what is bad." The Saiyid elaborates this point further by giving an example, borrowed from *Gh*azālī.[6] He says that every host ensures that nothing is served to his guest in a manner not permitted by the *sharī'a* and then questions how one can serve anything impure to the *mustaḥaq*, who is the deputy of God.[7]

Further, he says, that he who pays *zakāt* does not in fact show any favour to the receiver, on the other hand he should be grateful to the receiver for helping him to fulfil the obligation.[8] For an example he quotes the Caliph 'Umar and

1. Cf. 13:22; 35:29.
2. *Z.M.*, pp. 39-40. Cf. *K.Sa.*, p. 91.
3. *Z.M.*, p. 40.
4. Cf. *K.Sa.*, p. 92.
5. 2:267.
6. Cf. *K. Sa.*. p 92.
7. *Z.M.*, p. 43 Cf Qur'ān, 9:104.
8. *Z.M.*, p. 41.

Al-Sarrāj while maintaining the same opinion says that the rich who pay the *zakāt* to the poor are only restoring what really belongs to them; cf. *Kitābu'l-Luma'*, p. 161.

'Ā'yisha (a wife of the Prophet), who exhibited humility and gratitude to the *mustahaq*, when they paid alms to him.[1]

As a Ṣūfī, Saiyid 'Alī goes deeper into the question of payment of *zakāt*. He maintains that the relation between a believer and God is that of a lover and beloved ; as the lover is the slave of what he loves, so is the believer of God. Wealth and the pleasures of material existence are of no concern to the lovers of God.[2]

Thus people endowed with the highest degree of love of God, whom the Saiyid calls blessed and truthful ones, never possess any wealth liable to *zakāt*. Relying upon the will of Allāh, they dispose of their entire possessions in charity and are therefore not obliged to pay the *zakāt*. They steadfastly believe in and follow the command of God.[3] "You cannot attain to righteousness unless you spend what you love." They sacrifice the *maḥbūb-i-fānī* (the transitory beloved, i.e., wealth) for the sake of *maḥbūb-i-ḥaqiqī* (the true beloved, i.e., God).[4]

Saiyid 'Alī supports his argument with an anecdote relating to an eminent Ṣūfī, named Abū'l-Ḥasan Nūrī (d. 295/907). On being asked to give his opinion about the payment of *zakāt*, Abū'l-Ḥasan replied that common Muslims pay two and a half per cent but were a *darwesh* to control the whole world and give it up in gratitude for the benefits obtainable from a moment's *ma'rifa*, he would be still paying a very low price.[5] Saiyid 'Alī adds that the Caliph Abū Bakr was such a man. When commanded by the Prophet he brought all that he possessed and on being asked what he had left for his family, he replied: "Allāh and His messenger".[6]

1. *Z.M.*, p. 41.
2. Ibid., p. 36.
3. Qur'ān, 3:91.
4. *Z.M.*, p. 37.
5. Ibid., pp. 36-7. Ghazālī also quotes the same anecdote (cf. *K.Sa.*, p. 93). But Hujwīrī (cf. *Kashf.*, p. 315) and Farīdu'd-Dīn 'Attār (cf. Arberry, *Muslim Saints and Mystics*, pp. 224-5), attribute it to Shiblī,
6. *Z.M.*, p. 37. Cf. *K.Sa.*, p. 89.

To the middle category or *mutawassilān*, belong those people whose love for God is not so perfect. They give more than the prescribed amount in charity, but retain sufficient for their maintenance. Those whose love for God is of the lowest category are the common Muslims. They pay no more than what is absolutely necessary.[1]

Ḥajj, the pilgrimage to Mecca, completes the five basic principles of Islam. It is obligatory for those Muslims who are materially prosperous and physically able.[2] To the Ṣūfīs, the pilgrimage did not mean only a visit to the Ka'ba, but it was a source of "contemplation of God".[3]

Surprisingly, Saiyid 'Alī says very little about the *ḥajj*. Those Muslims, he writes, who have the means are bound to perform it.[4] But he adds that if rulers or government officers find that their absence was likely to endanger the internal or external peace of the country, they were not bound to perform the pilgrimage.[5]

Political Thought

Both the Ṣūfīs and the *'ālims* made strenuous efforts to reform the social and political ethos of the community. Even the Ṣūfīs of the first centuries of the Islamic era, who are known as quietists and ascetics, reacted strongly against the evils which the Caliphs and their officers had injected into the body politic of Islam.[6]

Contemporary social and political conditions even compelled Ghazālī to write letters to nobles and *wazīrs*.[7] His *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*[8] and *Kīmiyā'-i-Sa'ādat*[9] contain valuable material

1. *Z.M.* p. 37.
2. Cf. Qur'ān, 3:96; 2:197.
3. "Pilgrimage", writes Hujwīrī, "is an act of mortification (*mujāhadat*) for the sake of obtaining contemplation (*mushāhadat*)"; *Kashf.*, p. 329.
4. *Z.M.*, p. 5; *R.I*, f. 218b.
5. *Z.M.*, p.5.
6. Cf. Arberry, *Muslim Saints and Mystics*, pp. 136, 141.
7. Cf. M. Smith, *Al-Ghazāli*, pp. 21-2.
8. Cf. II, pp. 121ff...
9. Cf. pp. 172ff..

on the guidance of rulers. His *Naṣīḥatu'l-Malūk*[1] is a separate treatise on this subject. *Gh*azālī's letters and political works served as a model for the later Ṣūfīs, who chose to give counsel and advice to contemporary kings and governors.[2]

The *Risāla-i-Maktūbāt*, a collection of Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī's letters, comprises several letters to rulers in which he gives them guidance on political matters. Three of these are addressed to Sul*t*ān *T*u*gh*ān Shāh,[3] Sul*t*ān *Gh*iyāsu 'd-Dīn[4] and Sul*t*ān 'Alīu'd-Dīn[5] respectively. It is difficult to identify these, but *Gh*iyā*s*u'd-Dīn and 'Alīu'd-Dīn seem to have been the rulers of the principalities bordering Kashmīr, somewhere near Pakhlī;[6] and *T*u*gh*an Shāh may have ruled somewhere in Persia.

The most important work of Saiyid 'Alī on the subject is his *Zakhīratu'l-Mulūk*. In its introduction the Saiyid claims that he was requested by many rulers, nobles and government officers to write something for their guidance, but he could not find time to do so. Ultimately, at the request of a friend whose name he does not disclose, he decided to write it.[7]

The political literature written before the *Ẕakhīratu'l-Mulūk*[8] may broadly be divided into two categories :

1. Works written by *wazīrs* and secretaries of rulers, who were responsible for running the administration.

1. The work is believed to have been written for Sul*t*ān Muḥammad b. Malikshāh (498-511/1105-1118); cf. *Naṣīḥatu'l-Mulūk*, Eng. Tr., Bagley, Introduction, pp. xvi-xvii.
2. Cf. *The Cambridge History of Irān*, V., p. 209.
3. Cf. *R.M.*, p. 167a.
4. Cf. ibid., f. 167b.
5. Cf. ibid., f. 168b.
6. Pakhlī is to the north-west of Kashmīr, now a part of West Pakistan. In medieval times its rulers generally paid tribute to Kashmīr; cf. *A.A.*, II, p. 397.
7. *Ẕ.M.*, pp. 1-2.
8. The work is undated and refers to no personality or event which might provide a clue leading to the fixation of an approximate date. However, M. Bashīr asserts that it was written in 783/1380; cf. *The Administration of Justice in Medieval India*, p. 39.

2. Works written by the *'ulamā* and Ṣūfīs, who approached the subject from theoretical and academic points of view.

The ministers and secretaries were government servants, and as such were concerned to present an academic justification of the rule of their masters and to elicit unqualifying obedience to their government, just or unjust. They concocted traditions in the name of the Prophet Muḥammad or had them invented by the *'ulamā*.[1]

The *'ulamā* and the Ṣūfīs, who examined the question from the academic and theoretical point of view, emphasized the need to submit to the *sharī'a* or the Divine law. They urged that the injunctions of *sharī'a* could not be set aside or abrogated by any ruler. In their works the *sharī'a* stands as a check on the autocratic power of the ruler.[2]

However, even Ghazālī's academic approach was marked by inhibitions, because during his time Saljūq Sulṭāns were making singular contributions to the rehabilitation of the Sunnī power against the onslaught of the Ismā'īlīs. Without a strong government both the Sunnī power and the Sunnī community was bound to shatter to pieces.

Saiyid 'Alī was not concerned with justifying any Sultanate. His approach to the subject was independent. But he was not a political thinker, and his approach to political questions was that of an *'ālim* concerned with the responsibilities of enforcing the lawful (*amr-i-ma'rūf*) and prohibiting the unlawful (*nahī-munkar*). Therefore the implementation of his counsels, in the political conditions of the fourteenth century, was far from possible.

1. Cf. the traditions such as, "Obey your rulers whatever may hap, for if they bid you do anything different to what I [the prophet] have taught you, they shall be punished for it and you will be rewarded for your obedience; and if they bid you do anything different to what I have taught you, the responsibility is theirs and you are quit of it" and "Whoso rebels against the ruler rebels against me"; Arnold, *The Caliphate*, p. 48. See also pp. 45-6.

2. Cf. *Aḥkāmu's-Sultānīya*, p. 11.

Both in the *Risāla-i-Maktūbāt* and *Zakhīratu'l-Mulūk*, he raises a just ruler to the position of the deputy or vice-gerent of God.[1] God in the perfection of His wisdom, Saiyid 'Alī writes, made it imperative that there should be among the people a just and perfectly righteous ruler, who would direct the activities of the progeny of Adam into right channels and strive to execute the decrees of the *sharī'a* strictly.[2]

A letter of Ḥasan Baṣrī (21-110/641-728), which Saiyid 'Alī quotes in the *Zakhiratu'l-Mulūk*, is very significant. Someone wrote to Ḥasan Baṣrī asking him the qualities of the Caliph 'Umar, so that he might model his conduct upon the latter's. Ḥasan Baṣrī answered : "You are not living in 'Umar time and your followers are not like those of 'Umar. However, if you do what 'Umar did, you will be better than he."[3] While advising the rulers to follow in 'Umar's footsteps, Saiyid 'Alī recognises the fact that "such Islam and such Muslims are not left that one can govern them after the manner of the pious Caliphs."[4]

Like all other Muslim theorists,[5] Saiyid 'Alī believes that the implementation of the religious law depends upon the government. The strengthening of Islam and of faith and the annihilation of those who have deviated from the right path and are responsible for adding innovations to it, he says,

1. Saiyid 'Alī was not of course the first person to recognise a ruler as the deputy of or vice-gerent of God. Long before him this distinction was bestowed on Muslim rulers (cf. Arnold, *The Caliphate*, p. 50 See also, Rosenthal, *Political Thought in Medieval Islam*, p. 41). However, al-Māwardī considered the Caliph as the vice-gerent of the Prophet and not of God. According to him a deputy by definition represents one who is absent; because God is present always, therefore the Caliph cannot be the deputy of God. He quotes an anecdote of Abū Bakr, the first Caliph, who once was called "*khalīfa'l-lāh*" (Deputy of God), and he objected to it saying, "I am *khalīfa-rasūla'l-lāh'* (deputy of the Prophet); *Aḥkāmu's-Sultānīya*, pp, 31-2.
2, *R.M.*, f. 167a; *Z.M.*, p. 94.
3. Ibid., p. 103.
4. Cf. *Ziā'u'd-Dīn Baranī*, *Fatāwā-i-Jahāndārī*, Eng. tr., M. Habib and Dr. Afsar Begum, p. 34.
5. Cf. *Aḥkāmu's-Sultānīya* p. 32.

depends upon the Sul*t*āns and their officers.[1] Thus force and authority should not be spared in the enforcement of religious law.[2]

The execution of the decrees of the *sharī'a* and justice, the Saiyid holds, are the principal duties of a ruler. "When a ruler follows the path of justice and equity and strives to establish the Divine law and executes the decrees of religion," Saiyid 'Alī writes, "he is the chosen deputy (*nā'ib*) of God, and His shadow and vice-gerent (*khalifa*) upon earth." But if he "turns away from the path of justice and equity, does not treat the servants of God (*bandagān-i-ḥaq*) with compassion, follows his lusts and desires and is negligent in the enforcement of the Divine law, he is, indeed the deputy of the imposter (*dajjāl*) and the enemy of God and His Prophet and the vice-gerent of Satan."[3]

In the *Ẕakhiratu'l-Mulūk*, he quotes anecdote after anecdote of the prophets and the pious Caliphs full of morals for Sul*t*āns and their high officers. Cruel rulers are warned that they will be subjected to very severe punishment and incessant torture in the after-life for having betrayed the trust which God reposed in them.[4] Again rulers are reminded that on the day of Judgement ordinary people would be questioned about their prayer, while the first question that would be put to them would be about their justice and bounty.[5]

No ruler, however, Saiyid 'Alī says, can discharge his duty without fulfilling the following ten rules:[6]

1. When a case is brought to him, he should place himself in the position of the subject and whatever he does not like to be done for himself, he should not order for others.
2. He should consider the act of satisfying the needs of the Muslims as the worthiest of all devotions.

1. *R.Dr.*, f. 251a.
2. *R.M.*, f. 165a.
3. *Ẕ.M.*, p. 104.
4. Cf. ibid., p. 94
5. *R.M.*, f. 164a-b.
6. *Ẕ.M.*, pp. 105-10.

3. In matters of food and dress he should follow the tradition of the pious Caliphs, and should not get used to eating delicious food and putting on elaborate garments.
4. He should be polite and should not be unnecessarily harsh. He should not be vexed with lengthy discussions and should not feel annoyed in talking to the poor and weak.
5. He should not hesitate to implement the religious law. Under every rule half of the people remain unhappy with their rulers, because two contradictory interests cannot be reconciled. As it is not possible for a just ruler to please everybody, he should sacrifice his personal interests and should not care for the dissatisfaction of the people and should give only such orders as are necessary to please God.
6. Danger to his rule should not make him indolent towards his religious duties. He should understand firmly that only kingship which establishes the Divine rule is the source of good name and felicity. If a ruler does not pay attention to this fact he is consigned to eternal punishment.

   Many rulers, Saiyid 'Alī points out, become power-drunk and begin to indulge in the worldly pleasures, thereby ruining both their life and their faith. A ruler should not therefore make his rule a source of his eternal punishment and should do justice.
7. Although nowadays the pious and *'ālims* are rare, he should always try to seek the company of godly *'ālims* and should avoid the company of those *'ālims* and Ṣūfīs who are nothing but imposters and ignorant. For the sake of worldly gains they praise and bless every tyrant avd are responsible for the destruction of faith.
8. He should not frighten his subjects through ostentatious display of pride and arrogance, but should win the hearts of the submissive and the weak through justice, benevolence and kindness.

9. He should always make enquiries about the activities of his officers and should not appoint cruel officers. If any of them commits acts of dishonesty or shows cruelty, he should be given exemplary punishment, so that others may take warning.

10. Sagacity and discernment are qualities indispensable to rulers, enabling them to penetrate into the reality of every case presented before them. They are not guided by what is *prima facie* correct, but discover the truth of every case and decide it in accordance with the *sharī'a*. They are not led away simply by the statements of witnesses. They do not forget the fact that there are innumerable causes for every happening, and that what often appears superficially correct has no bearing upon reality.

Thus a ruler, according to Saiyid 'Alī, is not merely to serve his own satisfaction. He is warned of the next world and of the punishment to be awarded for acting contrary to the will of God. He is called to obedience and devotion to God. At the same time it is impressed upon him that every right action of his is an act of worship and will be rewarded.

Saiyid 'Alī divides the subjects under a Muslim ruler into two categories—Muslims and *Kāfirs* (heretics)—and states that their respective rights differ according to their religion.[1] The Muslim subjects, he says, are entitled to obtain twenty rights from their rulers and it is imperative for the rulers to grant these.[2] The rights of the Muslim subjects are not different from the duties of a ruler as Saiyid 'Alī describes them. In enumerating these duties Saiyid 'Alī seeks to elaborate the earlier ten rules further. The rights of the Muslim subjects or the duties of the rulers towards them, as given by the Saiyid, are as follows :[3]

1. A king should treat all Muslims with respect and must keep in mind that God does not approve of tyranny

1. *Z. M.*, p. 110.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., pp. 110-7.

and arrogance; kings should therefore avoid these sins.

2. A king should not listen to those who indulge in back-biting, for this gives birth to strife and causes regret. The jealous, envious, selfish and greedy are generally back-biters. Greedy people harm others for their own petty interests and the jealous find fault with everyone.

3. If a king gets angry with a Muslim for a fault or weakness, he should try to forgive him within three days. But if the anger has been caused because of his enmity to religion, the king could banish him from his favour for the rest of his life. In worldly matters forgiveness is the best policy.

4. A king should be just and benevolent to all sections of his subjects, and should make no discrimination between worthy and unworthy. As the king is the shadow of God and God's mercy is showered both upon believers and non-believers the rulers should also be benevolent to everyone.

5. A king should never, in the pride of his power, pry into the private households of Muslims and should never enter the houses and store-houses of his subjects without permission.

6. A king should treat the people according to their status, He should not expect the mean and the rabble to address him in an elegant manner, and should not expect men residing in mountains and jungles to observe the etiquette generally followed by noblemen. He should assign duties to everyone according to his capacity. He should understand that each class of men is bound to behave in accordance with its own manners and customs. He should not refuse to admit anyone to his presence.

7. Any promise made to a Muslim should be kept at all costs.

8. A king should hold the old and aged in respect, especially the upright among them, and should treat younger people kindly.

9. A king should not be harsh in conversation and should meet both high and low frankly and with an open mind.

10. A king should be just and fair in exercising his authority. As he expects his people to be fair to him, he should in turn be fair to them. He should deal with Muslims in the same manner as they deal with him.

11. He should make peace between contending parties as early as possible. No delay should be permitted in deciding disputes between Muslims, since delay may cause hatred and enmity among them.

12. A king should not expose the faults committed by Muslims and should not harass his poor subjects for petty offences, but should try to conceal their faults.

13. On mere suspicion he should not act in such a way as to embolden his subjects to commit offences. He should avoid accusing anyone merely on suspicion. If by chance he himself commits a sin, he should make every effort to conceal it. He should try to direct the people to act virtuously. If the people are virtuous, the reward will be reaped by the state. If they are corrupt and commit sin, the state would have to suffer its consequences.

14. The governors of a king should make no delay in recommending the needs of the Muslims to him. Many important matters in government are concluded successfully through the recommendation of the governors ; the latter should seize this opportunity to obtain eternal blessings.

15. A king should treat the poor and weak with favour as against the rich and powerful. He should spend most of his time in the company of godly people. As government duties and association with all kinds of people, especially the company of the rich and worldly, make the heart dark, he should at least once in a day brighten his heart with the counsel of the pious. Darkness of heart is a danger to faith and causes damnation and everlasting disappointment.

16. A king should not be negligent of the condition of the hungry and distressed and should spare no efforts to alleviate the sufferings of those who have no food. He should also consider it obligatory upon himself to provide a livelihood for orphans. In performing these duties he should be mindful of the answer he will have to give to God on the day of Judgement, the day on which riches and kingdoms will be of no help and the rightful claimants will demand their dues from him. Thus, while he is living and able, he should strive to acquit himself of his duties.

17. A king should be so relentless in awarding punishment to robbers and thieves as to make the highways used by Muslims free from their depredations. Anyone who is troublesome to Muslim travellers should be awarded exemplary punishment. As far as possible, buildings (i.e. watch-houses) should be constructed at all places infested with robbers.

18. Wherever they are needed, and where it is possible to do so, inns and bridges should be constructed without delay.

19. Mosques should be built at every place inhabited by Muslims; an *imām* and a *mu'azzin* should be appointed and provided with stipends so that they may perform their duties without any worry about their livelihood.

20. A king should not be neglectful of his duty to enforce lawful and to prohibit unlawful acts. He should not hesitate to give religious counsel to his people and should direct his subjects to obey the divine commands. He should prevent them from committing sin by inflicting harsh punishments.

We have already pointed out that Saiyid 'Alī's approach to the subject under discussion was that of an *'ālim* saddled with the responsibility to enforce the law of *sharī'a*. As such, he asks both rulers and people not to tolerate anything against the law of religion. The rulers, he says, should stop all acts opposed to the *sharī'a* by awarding harsh punishments and by

using the sword. The *'ulamā,* he continues, are required to stop the commitment of such acts by delivering sermons. Those who have no power to stop such acts by the sword or through discourses are asked to disassociate themselves with those who violate the *sharī'a.*[1]

Saiyid 'Alī gives a separate mandate for dealing with the *ahl-i-zimma* ("people of a [revealed] book, i.e., Jews and Christians). This mandate is composed of a set of twenty rules, which are believed by the Saiyid, in common with most of the other Muslim scholars, to have been invented and imposed by the Caliph 'Umar on the *ahl-i-kitāb* (those who possess revealed book). He states that it is imperative for every (Muslim) ruler and governor to make the cavenant of 'Umar the basis of the treatment of their non-Muslim subjects (*zimmīs*).[2] These rules are as follows :[3]

1. The *zimmīs* will not construct any new places of worship or idol temples in the territory under the control of a Muslim ruler.
2. They will not reconstruct any existing place of worship or temple that may fall into ruin.
3. They will not prevent Muslim travellers from staying in their places of worship or temples.
4. They will receive any Muslim traveller into their houses and will provide him with hospitality for three days.
5. They will not harbour any spies and will not act as spies themselves.
6. If any of their relations show any inclination to embrace Islam, they shall not prevent him from doing so.
7. They will respect Muslims.
8. If they are holding a meeting and a Muslim happens to come there, he will be received respectfully by them.
9. They will not dress like Muslims.
10. They will not adopt Muslim names.
11. They will not ride horses with saddle and bridle,
12. They will not carry swords or bows and arrows.

1. *Z.M.*, p. 117.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., pp. 117-8.

13. They will not wear signet rights (*nigīn*).
14. They will not openly sell or drink intoxicating liquor.
15. They will not abandon their traditional dress, so that they may be distinguished from Muslims.
16. They will not openly practise their customs and usages among Muslims.
17. They will not build their houses in the neighbourhood of Muslims.
18. They will not carry (bury) their dead near the graveyards of Muslims.
19. They will not mourn their dead loudly.
20. They will not buy Muslim slaves.

Saiyid 'Alī does not clearly say whether these conditions should be applicable to Hindus, who at that time were in the majority in Kashmīr. However, from his following statement it appears that they were to be treated at par with *ahl-i-zimma*. The document (the covenant of 'Umar), he says, concludes with the note that if they (*ahl-i-zimma*) infringe any of the twenty conditions they are not to be protected and Muslims may rightfully kill them and appropriate their property as if they were *kāfirs* (idolators, i.e., Hindus) at war.[1] This would imply that the *kāfirs* who had submitted to the rule of Islam and were living peacefully were to be treated like *ahl-i-zimma*.

Saiyid 'Alī raserves every benefit of the state for the Muslims. Unlike al-Māwardī,[2] he does not explicitly mention any rights which non-Muslims could expect in return for obeying the above twenty rules. The alleged convenant of 'Umar is accepted by Saiyid 'Alī as a document to be followed universally in all conditions and at all times.

The document attributed to 'Umar appears in different versions in different works,[3] and has been the subject of consi-

1. *Z.M.*, p. 118.
2. According to al-Māwardī the *ahl-i-zimma*, after they accepted to abide by the conditions (twelve according to him), imposed on them, had certain privileges including that they were allowed to repair the existing places of worship; cf. *Aḥkāmu's-Sulṭānīya*, p. 213.
3. Cf. Tritton, *The Caliphs and their non-Muslim Subjects*, pp. 5ff., where references are given to the various versions of the document.

derable research by orientalists. Professor Arnold observes that later generations imposed a number of restrictive regulations on non-Muslims (Christians), which prevented them from observing their religious practices and in order to make these conditions appear authentic, attributed them to 'Umar.[1] He says that the provisions of the convenant of 'Umar,

> . . . represent the more intolerant practices of a later age, and indeed were regulations that were put into force with no sort of regularity, some outburst of fanaticism being generally needed for appeal to be made for their application. There is abundant evidence to show that the Christians in the early days of the Muhammadan conquest had little to complain of in the way of religious disabilities.[2]

Tritton,[3] after examining all the versions of the "covenant of 'Umar" in detail, says that the treaties made by 'Umar with Syrian towns were simple and no elaborate rules such as mentioned in the covenant were framed. The jurists who drew upon the covenant were themselves unaware of the actual terms of the treaties. In law books too the rules of conduct for *zimmīs* are defined ; he concludes :

> Mālik, Shāfe'i and Ahmad b. Hanbal hold that failure to pay the poll-tax [*jizya*] deprives them of protection. This was not the view of Abū Hanīfa. Ahmad and Mālik hold that four things put the *dhimmi* outside the law—blasphemy of God, of His book, of His religion, and of His Prophet.... Abū Hanīfa taught that they must not be too severe with *dhimmis* who insulted the Prophet. Shāfe'i said that one who repented of having insulted the Prophet might be pardoned and restored to his privileges. Ibn Taimiya taught that the death penalty could not be evaded.[4]

In dealing with question of *zimmīs*, Saiyid 'Alī follows the general pattern of Shāfi'ī law, prescribes severe discriminatory

1. *The Preaching of Islam*, p. 57.
2. Ibid., p. 59.
3. *The Caliphs and their non-Muslim Subjects*, pp. 5ff..,
4. Ibid., pp. 16-7,

conditions, and does not consider their practicability.[1] For example it was impossible for the early Sulṭāns of Kashmīr to implement such a policy, as the great majority of their subjects were non-Muslim. Therefore it is not surprising when we find that Saiyid 'Alī left Kashmīr disappointed when Sulṭān Quṭbu'd-Dīn failed to respond to his teachings.[2] In fact Saiyid 'Alī's political thinking was altogether theoretical and had no bearing upon actual practice.

Strict adherence to *sharī'a* and *sunna* as advocated by 'Alā'u'd-Daula Simnānī had greatly influenced Saiyid 'Alī's[3] personality. He is reported to have said that had the *sharī'a* not prevented him he would have preferred to live as an ascetic observing fasts throughout his life and never marrying.[4] He led a simple life, earning his livelihood by making caps.[5] However, he did not disapprove of the possession of the wealth provided the rules of *sharī'a* such as paying the *zakāt* were not ignored.[6]

Like many Ṣūfīs and scholars who were not satisfied with their contemporaries, Saiyid 'Alī also believed that people had not recognised his merits properly and did not know the value of his scholarship. However, he thought that generations coming a century after his death would be able to recognise his real worth.[7]

1. Ziā'u'd-Dīn Baranī while at one place (Cf. *Fatāwā-i-Jahandārī*, pp. 46-7) pleads to a Muslim king for an all-out struggle against Hindus, but at another place (Cf. op. cit. pp. 34, 44) he concedes the unfeasibility of establishing a government in accordance with the Islamic principles, these days.
2. See supra.

   Baranī clearly states that Muslim kings in India, where Islam was established long before Kashmīr, were tolerant and that Hindus were allowed to live with honour and dignity cf. *Fatāwā-i-Jahāndārī*, pp. 47-48.
3. Cf. *Chihil-Majlis*, ff. 169b, 173a.
4. *K.M.*, pp. 456, 540.
5. Ibid., p. 542.
6. Cf. *Ms.C.*, f. 288a.
7. *K.M.*, pp. 471-2.

Devoid of originality as they were, his works did not receive the widespread recognition which those of Ṣūfī scholars such as Qushairī, *Gh*azālī, Shai*kh* Shihābu'd-Dīn Suhrawardī and Ibn 'Arabī obtained. In Kashmīr his teachings and works became popular mainly because of a band of followers and disciples who chose to stay there to propagate the teachings of the master.

CHAPTER IV

THE KUBARAVĪ ORDER—B

Disciples of Saiyid 'Alī

According to some sources[1] seven hundred Saiyids had accompanied Saiyid 'Alī to Kashmīr; many modern scholars[2] uncritically accept this as true. No source, however, gives a complete list of the disciples and only the following are mentioned in the different sources. Some of them either came with Saiyid 'Alī to Kashmīr or were sent there by him before his arrival.

The first to arrive in Kashmīr were Saiyid Tāju'd-Dīn and Saiyid Ḥusain, the cousins of Saiyid 'Alī.[3] They were both deputed by Saiyid 'Alī to explore the religious atmosphere in the Valley of Kashmīr;[4] but Saiyid Ḥusain went to India[5] and only Saiyid Tāju'd-Dīn proceeded to Kashmīr, where Sulṭān Shihābu'd-Dīn, the ruler of the time (1354-1373), recrived him warmly. The Sulṭān built a *khānqāh* for Tāju'd-Dīn at Shihābu'd-Dīnpura[6] close to his own palace,[7] and granted the revenues of the village of Nāgām[8] for his maintenance.[9]

It is said that Sulṭān Shihābu'd-Dīn used to consult Tāju'd-Dīn both on religious and administrative matters,[10] but

1. *N.A.*, f. 35a: *T.Az.*, p. 36; *F.K.*, f. 58b; *G.A.*, f. 119a; *T.H.*, III, p. 15; *T.K.*, p. 12.
2. Cf. Temple, *The word of Lallā*, p. 2; Ṣūfī, *Kashīr*, I, p. 85; Muḥibbu'l-Ḥasan, *Sultāns*, p. 56.
3. *T.Ks.*, f. 1a; *T.Az.*, p. 31; *F.K.*, f. 69b; *G.A.*, f. 116a; *T H.*, III, p. 6; *T.K.*, p. 8.
4. *T.Ks.*, f. 1a; *T.Az.*, p. 38; *F.K.*, f. 69b; *G.A.*, f. 116a-b.
5. *A.Ab.*, f. 33a; *T.Az.*, pp. 35, 38; *F.K.*, f. 69a; *T.H.*, III. p. 9; *T.K.*, p. 9.
6. The modorn Shādipur is nine miles north-west of Srīnagar—cf. *R.Tk.*, II, p. 329.
7. *F-K.*, f. 69b; *T.H.*, III, pp. 6-7; *T.K.*, p. 8.
8. The ancient "Nāgrāma" (cf. *R.Tk.*, II; p. 474) is fourteen miles to the south-west of Srīnagar.
9. *T.Ks.*, f. 2b; *N.A.*, f. 30b; *F.K.*, f. 69b, *T.H.*, III, p. 7; *T.K.*, p 8.
10. *F.K.*, f. 69b; *T.H.*, III, p. 7,

no authority mentions the type of instruction which the Sul*t*ān received. It seems that Taju'd-Dīn, unlike Saiyid 'Alī, either approved Shihābu'd-Dīn's policy of tolerance towards his non-Muslim subjects,[1] or avoided to come in conflict with him, and was contented with the patronage he received.

Encouraged by the Sul*t*ān's patronage, Tāju'd-Dīn invited his brother Saiyid Ḥusain to join him[2]. The Sul*t*ān received the latter well and helped him to settle at the village of Kulgām.[3] Saiyid Ḥusain was able to interest a considerable number of the local population in his activities.[4] His kitchen, for the maintenance of which he received a state grant,[5] was open to all sections of the people[6] and his interest in their welfare helped him a great deal in converting them to Islam.[7] It is said that the people in the village of Kulgām lived near the banks of the river Vaishu.[8] Once Saiyid Ḥusain asked them to move from there to a safer place, where he himself lived, predicting that some misfortune was going to visit them there. The villagers did not agree. Shortly afterwards a flood in the river Vaishu took a large toll of population, which convinced

1. Describing Shihābu'd-Dīn's attitude towards his non-Muslim subjects, Jonarāja says that once Udaya-śrī, a minister, suggested that the Sul*t*ān should break a brass image of Buddha and make coins out of the metal. But the Sul*t*ān refused to follow his advice, and replied : "Past generations have set up images to obtain fame and earn merit, and you propose to demolish them ! Some have obtained renown by setting up images of gods, others, by worshipping them, some by duly maintaining them....How great is the enormity of such a deed....King Shāhāvadīna [Sanskritized name of Shihābu'd-Dīn], it will be said, plundered the image of a god; and this fact, dreadful as Yama [god of death], will make the men in future tremble"—*R.Tj.*, p. 44.
2. *T.H.*, III, p. 9. See also *T.K.*, p. 9.
3. *A.Ab.*, f. 33b; *T.Az.*, p. 38; *T.H.*, III, p. 9; *T.K.*, p. 9. Kulgām is thirty-four miles south-west of Srīnagar.
4. *T.Ks.*, f. 1a; *A.Ab.*, f. 33a-b; *T.Az.*, p. 38; *F.K.*, f. 69b; *T.H.*, III, p. 9.
5. *T.Ks.*, f 1a; *F.K.*, f. 69b.
6. *A.Ab.*, f. 33b; *F.K.*, f. 69b.
7. *A.Ab.*. f. 33b; *T.Az.*, p. 38; *F.K.*, f. 69b; *T.H.*, III, p. 9; *T.K.*, p. 9.
8. The ancient "Visok"—cf. *R.Tk.*, II, p. 415.

the villagers of the saintliness of Saiyid Ḥusain and this fact became a potent stimulus of their faith in him.[1]

Saiyid Ḥusain breathed his last on 11 Sha'bān, 792/25 July, 1390.[2] A magnificent shrine with "exquisite wood carving and painted lattice"[3] at the village of Kulgām stands as a memorial to the reverence with which the people held him.

Saiyid Kabīr Baihaqī became Saiyid 'Alī's disciple at a very early age.[4] It is said that when Saiyid 'Alī converted the chief Brahman of *Kāli-mandar* at Srīnagar to Islam,[5] and turned the temple into a mosque, he ordered Saiyid Kabīr to settle down there and preach the truths of Islam to the people.[6] However, after Saiyid 'Alī's departure, Saiyid Kabīr shifted to *moḥalla* Darībal in Srīnagar and lived for the rest of his life there.[7]

Mīr Saiyid Jamālu'd-Dīn 'A*tā*'ī[8], was one of the very few followers of Saiyid 'Alī, who brought their families with them to Kashmīr.[9] However, unlike his spiritual master, Saiyid Jamālu'd-Dīn was not a teacher or a preacher, but lived an ascetic life in retirement,[10] at the village of Chitar, in the *pargana* Khovurpur.[11]

Saiyid Muḥammad Kāzim, commonly known as Saiyid Qāzī,[12] was Saiyid 'Alī's librarian (*taḥwildār-i-kutub*)[13] When

1. *A.Ab.*, f. 33b; *T.K.*, p. 9.
2. *T.H.*, III, p. 9; *T.K.*, p. 9.
3. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmīr*, p. 288.
4. *F.K.*, f. 65b.
5. See *supra*.
6. *T.Ks.*, f. 4b; *F.K.*, ff. 65b, 66a.
7. Ibid., f. 66a; *T.H.*, III, p. 21; *T.K.*, p. 21.
8. *T.Ks.*, f. 56; *A.Ab.*, f. 105b; *F.K.*, f. 71a. Some authorities call him Saiyid Jalālu'd-Dīn 'A*tā*'*ī*—cf. *T.Az.*, p 38; *T.H.*, III, p. 17; *T.K.*, p. 19.
9. *T.Az.*, p. 38.
10. *T.K.*, p. 19.
11. *T.Ks.*, f. 6a; *T.Az.*, p. 38; *F.K.*, f. 71a; *T.H.*, III, p. 17; *T.K.*, p. 19. "Khovur" in Kashmīrī means left side, and the *pargana* Khovurpur is to the east of left of the Lidar Valley, in the modern district of Anantnāg.
12. *T.Az.*, p. 39; *F.K.*, f. 71a; *T.H.*, III, p. 19; *T.K.*, p. 20.
13. *T.Ks.*, f. 6a, *T.Az.*, p. 39; *F.K.*, f. 71a; *T.H.*, III, p. 19; *T.K.*, p. 20.

Saiyid 'Alī, while journeying through the Valley, reached Latapura,[1] he asked Saiyid Qāzī to settle there and propagate Islam.[2]

Although the ancient and medieval Hindu scholars attach no importance to Latapura,[3] medieval Muslim scholars assert that it was a great centre of Hinduism.[4] The fact that a disciple of Saiyid Qāẓī's eminence was chosen to work there shows that in those days Latapura was an important place. Saiyid Qāzī worked there with considerable success, and when he died he was buried there.[5]

Another disciple of Saiyid 'Alī was Saiyid Muḥammad Bal*kh*ī, also called Pīr Ḥājī Muḥammad Qāri'. He was a sound scholar of Islamic theology. His ability to recite the Qur'ān according to the prescribed rules was responsible for his fame as a *qārī'*[6].

When Saiyid 'Alī left Kashmīr, he particularly asked Pīr Ḥājī to stay there and guide the people to the path of *sharī'a*.[7] Pīr Ḥājī, unlike his preceptor, was friendly with Sul*t*ān Qu*t*bu'd-Dīn, who built a *kh*ānqāh for him and gave the revenues of some two *parganas* for the maintenance of his *langar* (lit. alms-house), which was thrown open to all people.[8] Because of the fame of the *langar*, this place is still called Langarhatta.[9]

1. The ancient "Lalitapura", seventeen miles south-east of Srīnagar.
2. *T.Ks.*, f. 6b; *T.Az.*, p. 39; *T.H.*, III, p. 19; *T.K.*, p. 20. According to Wahhāb, Saiyid 'Alī had asked Saiyid Qāzī to work at Pompur (the ancient "Padmapura", eight miles from Srīnagar on the road to Latapura). But at the same time he says that Saiyid Qāzī is buried at Latapura—*F.K.*, f. 71a.
3. Cf. *R.Tk.*, II, p. 460.
4. *T.Ks.*, f. 6b; *T.Az.*, p. 39; *T.H.*, III, p. 19; *T.K.*, p. 20.
5. Ibid.
6. *T.Ks.*, 5b; *T.Az.*, p. 40; *F.K.*, f. 70a; *T.H.*, III, p. 20; *T.K.*, p. 21. *Qāri'* literally means a reader. It is particularly used for one who "reads the Qur'ān correctly, and is acquianted with the *'ilmu't-tajwīd*, or the science of reading the Qur'ān"—Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 478.
7. *T.Ks.*, f. 5b; *T.Az.*, p. 40; *F.K.*, f. 70a; *T.H.*, III, p. 20; *T.K.*, p. 21.
8. *F.K.*, f. 70a; *T.H.*. III, p. 20; *T.K.*, p. 21.
9. Ibid.

Pīr Ḥājī is said to have built several khānqāhs and mosques,[1] but only one survives, the *Ziyārat-Pir Hāji Muḥammad Ṣāḥib*, to the north of Srīnagar. These khānqās were the nucleus of his teaching and preaching activities.[2] He died after a short illness, on 8 Rajab, 792/22 June, 1390[3], and was buried in his own khānqāh at Langarhatta.[4]

Saiyid Muḥammad Quraish and Saiyid 'Abdu'llah, the two other disciples of Saiyid 'Alī[5] were asked to settle down in the town of Vijabror,[6] a great centre of Hindu learning and famous for its numerous temples.[7] Some authorities[8] allege that Saiyid Muḥammad Quraish demolished the famous temple of *Vijayeśvara*[9] at Vijabror, converted its custodian to Islam and erected a *Jāmi'-masjid* on its site. Some authorities[10] assert that Saiyid 'Alī himself performed this act. Both versions of the story seem to be legendary. Although the demolition of temples and erection of mosques in their place was not an uncommon practice, it seems unlikely in this particular instance. The fact is not borne out by the archaeological evidence, for the temple was on the bank of the river Jehlum.[11] while the *Jāmi'-masjid*, which still stands, is in the middle of tho town and is situated at a considerable distance from the

1. Ibid.
2. *F.K.*, f. 70a; *T.H.*, III, p. 20; *T.K.*, p. 21.
3. *F.K.*, f. 70a; *T.H.*, III, p. 20. According to Miskīn, Pīr Ḥājī died on 8 Rajab, 794/31 May, 1392 (*T.K.*, p. 21). But Wahhāb and Ḥasan are both earlier to Miskīn, therefore are more reliable.
4. *T.Az.*, p. 40; *F.K.*, f. 70a; *T.H.*, III, p. 20; *T.K.*, p. 21.
5. *T.Ks.*, f. 7a; *K.S.*, f. 15a; *F.K.*, f. 71a. Others mention only Saiyid Muḥammad Quraish—*T.Az.*, p. 39; *T.H.*, III, p. 19; *T.K*, p. 21.
6. The ancient town of "Vijayeśvara" is twenty-nine miles to the south-east of Srīnagar. It still boasts a large number of Brahmans, who are particularly famous for their knowledge of astrology.
7. Cf. *R.Tk.*, II, p. 463.
8. *T.Az.*, p. 39; *T.H.*, III, p. 19; *T.K.*, p. 21.
9. The antiquity of the temple, says Stein, is indicated by the legend connected with Aśoka, who, according to Kalhaṇa, replaced the old "stuccoed enclosure of the temple by one of stone"—*R.Tk.*, II, p. 463.
10. *T.Ks.*, f. 7a; *F.K.*, f. 71a.
11. Cf. *R.Tk.*, II, pp. 463, 464.

site of the temple. The stone material of the temple could be seen there as late as the reign of Ranbir Singh (1857-1885), who used it for the construction of the new temple of *Vijayeś-vara,* close by the site of the old one.[1]

Again, it is unlikely that Jonarāja, who gives a long list of the temples destroyed from time to time, would have omitted to mention the destruction of this famous temple. Thus the story that Saiyid Muḥammad Quraish or Saiyid 'Alī demolished the temple is an attempt to glorify the missionary zeal of the Saiyids.

However, both Saiyid Muḥammad Quraish and his co-worker, Saiyid 'Abdu'llāh, are reported to have been very active there in persuading the people to embrace Islam.[2] The dates of their death are not known, but it is said that they were buried near the *Jāmi'-masjid* at Vijabror.[3]

Saiyid Muḥammad Firūz, also called Saiyid Jalālu'd-Dīn[4], another disciple of Saiyid 'Alī, led the quiet life of an ascetic and took little interest in the preaching of Islam.[5] He had settled down permanently at the village of Simpur,[6] in the *pargana* Vihi[7].

Saiyid Ruknu'd-Dīn and Saiyid Fa*kh*ru'd-Dīn, the two eminent disciples of Saiyid 'Alī, made the village Avantipura a centre of their activities.[8] Avantipura[9] was

1. Cf. *Ibid.*, II, p. 463.
2. *T.Ks.*, f. 7a; *T.Az.*, p. 39; *F.K.*, f. 71b; *T.H.*, III, p. 19; *T.K.*, p. 21.
3. Ibid.
4. *T.Ks.*, f. 6a; *T.Az.*, p. 39; *F.K.*, f. 70b; *T.H.*, III, p. 19; *T.K.*, p. 21.
5. *F.K.*, f. 70b.
6. Simpur is based on the abbreviated form of the name of its founder, King Siṁhadeva, who, according to Kalhaṇa, settled Brahmans there —cf. *R.Tk.*, II, p. 190.
7. *T.Az.*, p. 39; *F.K.*, f. 70b. Vihī adjoins Srīnagar from the south-east.
8. *T.Ks* , f. 6b; *T.Az.*, p.39; *F.K.*, f. 71a; *T.K.*, pp. 20, 21.
9. Seventeen miles south-east of Srīnagar. This village was founded by King Avantivarman (855-883)—cf. *R.Tk.*, II, p. 460.

another celebrated centre of Hinduism,[1] and the ruins of two huge stone temples there are a reminder of its past glory.

Saiyid Ruknu'd-Dīn and Saiyid Fa*kh*ru'd-Din, who were well known for both esoteric and exoteric knowledge,[2] seem to have made a great mark there. Saiyid Ruknu'd-Dīn died on 17 Rabi'ul'-Sānī, 792/4 April, 1390[3], and was buried in the village of Avantipura[4]. The date of Fa*kh*ru'd-Dīn's death is not known, but he appears to have outlived Ruknu'd-Dīn, and is buried beside his grave.[5]

Saiyid Kamālu'd-Dīn Sānī, who among the disciples of Saiyid 'Alī, was of an advanced age and weak in health[6], had settled down at the village of Na'idkhai[7], in the modern district of Bārāmūla. In the ancient period the place was not very well known and it seems that Saiyid Kamālu'd-Dīn preferred to settle there in order to live a quite life. He died on 3 Jumādu'l-Auwal, 790/9 June, 1388.[8]

One of the most distinguished companions of Saiyid 'Alī was Saiyid Jamālu'd-Dīn Muḥaddis (the traditionist). Besides the knowledge of *ḥadīs*, he was very well versed in *'ilmu'l-tafsīr* (knowledge regarding the interpretation of the Qur'ān).[9] Because of his piety and devotion he was known as 'Urwatu'l-wus*qā* (true faith).[10]

The *moḥalla,* in Srīnagar where he settled was called after his name 'Urwatu'l-wasqā.[11] There he established

1. Ibid., II, p. 460.
2. *T.Ks.*, f. 6b; *T.Az.*, p. 39; *F.K.*, f. 71a; *T.K.*, p. 19.
3. Ibid., p. 20.
4. *T.Ks.*, f. 6b; *T.Az.*, p. 39; *F.K.*, f. 71a; *T.K.*, p. 20.
5. Ibid., p. 21.
6. *T.Az.*, p. 39; *F.K.*, f. 71a, *T.H.*, III, p. 18; *T.K.*, p. 19.
7. Ibid.
8. *T.K.*, p. 19.
9. *T.Ks.*, f. 6a; *T.Az.*, p. 39; *F.K.*, f. 70b; *T.H.*, III, p. 18; *T.K.*, p. 20.
10. *F,K.*, f. 70b; *T.H.*, III, p. 18; *T.K.*, p. 20.
11 *F.K.*, f. 70b; *T.H.*, III, p. 18; *T.K.*, p. 20.

a *madrasa*[1] and attracted a large number of pupils.[2] After his death he was buried in his *moḥalla* which is now called Arwat.[3]

Saiyid Kamālu'd-Dīn, the brother of Saiyid Jamālu'd-Dīn Muḥaddis[4] was also a well known Ṣūfī.[5] Although he had settled at Qu*t*bu'd-Dīnpura in Srīnagar, he spent most of his time in travelling to various parts of the Valley.[6] He lies buried in the vicinity of Qu*t*bu'd-Dīnpura.[7]

Saiyid Muḥammad Āhanposh or 'Ainposh, was another companion of Saiyid 'Alī. He took up his residence at Kani-kadal,[8] in Srīnagar where he was buried.[9]

Among the Kashmīrī disciples of Saiyid 'Alī, who rose to eminence, were Shai*kh* Sulaimān and his son Shai*kh* Aḥmad. Shai*kh* Sulaimān was originally a Brahman named Srīkanth.[10] He was converted to Islam before Saiyid 'Alī's arrival in Kashmīr. The circumstances which led him to embrace Islam are not known and we are not told who converted him. It is believed that his family strongly resented his conversion[11] and for fear of persecution from his relatives, he left Kashmīr for Samarqand, where he acquired Islamic learning.[12] After com-

1. cf. Ṣūfī, *Kashīr*, I, pp. 346-7.
2. *T.Ks.*, f. 6a; *T.Az.*, p. 39; *F.K.*, f. 70b; *T.H.*, III, p. 18; *T.K.*, p. 20.
3. Ibid.
4. *F.K.*, f. 70b; *T.H.*, III, p. 18.
5. *T.Ks.*, f. 6a; *T.Az.*, p. 38; *F.K.*, f. 70b; *T.H.*, III, p. 18; *T.K.*, p. 20.
6. *T.H.*, III, p. 18.
7. *T.Ks.*, f. 6a; *T.Az.*, p. 38; *F.K.*, f. 70b; *T.H.*, III, p. 18; *T.K.*, p. 20.
8. *T.Az.*, p. 41; *T.H.*, III, p. 21; *T.K.*, p. 22.
9. Ibid.
10. *A.Ab.*, f. 109b; *K.S.*, f. 55a; *T.Az.*, p. 40; *F.K.*, f. 72a; *T.H.*, III, p. 191; *T.K.*, p. 137.
11. *A.Ab.*, f. 110a; *K.S.*, f. 55a; *F.K.*, f. 72a; *T.H.*, III, p. 191; *T.K.*, p. 138.

    A'zamī maintains that his relatives were not aware of his conversion and that he left the Valley lest they might come to know about it—*T.Az.*, p. 40.
12. *A.Ab.*, f. 110a; *K.S.*, f. 55a-b; *T.Az.*, p. 40; *F.K.*, f. 72a; *T.H.*, III, p. 191; *T.K.*, p. 138.

pleting his education, he went to Kolāb, where he became the disciple of Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī.[1] Later, when Saiyid 'Alī decided to visit the Valley, Shai*kh* Sulaimān accompanied him, and spent the rest of his life near Kohi-Sulaimān, in Srīnagar.[2]

Shai*kh* Aḥmad had also embraced Islam along with his father, Shai*kh* Sulaimān.[3] According to some sources,[4] Shai*kh* Aḥmad did not accompany his father in his self-chosen exile and met Saiyid 'Alī, when the latter reached Kashmīr; while others[5] assert that he left Kashmīr along with his father and met Saiyid 'Alī at Kolāb. The latter seems more probable, because like his father he may have left Kashmīr for fear of persecution.

Saiyid 'Alī bestowed his personal care upon Shai*kh* Aḥmad and made him his favourite disciple.[6] His sweet melodious voice earned for him the title of *Khw*ush*khw*ān ("melodious").[7] It is said that he would infatutate people with his recitation of the Qur'ān.[8] Saiyid 'Alī, who does not seem to have indulged in *samā'*, must have found great spiritual satisfaction in the Qurā'nic recitation of Shai*kh* Aḥmad.

When Saiyid 'Alī left the Valley, he appointed Shai*kh* Aḥmad as his *khalifa*, giving him precedence over his father, Shai*kh* Sulaimān, who was still alive.[9] Shai*kh* Aḥmad lived an active life and many people are said to have derived benefit from his religious and spiritual knowledge.[10] When he breathed his

1. Ibid.
2. *T.Az.*, p. 40; *F.K.*, f. 72b; *T.H.*, III, p. 191; *T.K.*, p. 138. Koh-i-Sulaimān or Ta*kh*t-i-Sulaimān is not called after the name of Shai*kh* Sulaimān. According to popular tradition among the Muslims of Kashmīr, it is the throne of the prophet Solomon. The Hindus call it Shankaracharya hill.
3. *A.Ab.*, f. 110b; *K.S.*, 55b; *T.Az.*, p. 40; *F.K.*, f. 72b; *T.H.*, III. p. 191; *T.K.*, p. 138.
4. *K.S.*, f. 55b; *T.K.*, p. 38.
5. *A.Ab.*, f. 110b; *T.Az.*, p. 40; *F.K.*, f. 72b; *T.H.*, III, p. 191.
6. *A.Ab.*, f. 111a; *K.S.*, f. 55b; *T.Az.*, p. 40; *F.K.*, f. 72b; *T.H.*, III, p. 191; *T.K.*, p. 138.
7. *T.Az.*, p. 40; *T.H.*, III, p. 191; *T.K.*, p. 138.
8. *A.Ab.*, f. 111a; *K.S.*, f. 55b; *T.Az.*, p. 40; *F.K.*, f. 72b; *T.H.*, III, p. 191; *T.K.*, p. 138.
9. *T.Az.*, p. 40; *F.K.*, f. 72b; *T.H.*, III, p. 191; *T.K.*, p. 148.
10. *T.Az.*, p. 40; *F.K.*, f. 72b; *T.K.*, p. 138.

last he was buried beside his father at the *Jāma'masjid* in Srīnagar.[1]

Among the disciples of Shai*kh* Aḥmad are mentioned Ibrāhīm Adham, and Shai*kh* Fatḥu'llah Ḥāfiẓ. Ibrāhīm Adham generally known as Bābā Ḥājī Adham, was originally from Balkh.[2] After travelling extensively in various parts of the Muslim world,[3] he reached Kashmīr in the reign of Sul*t*ān Sikandar,[4] and became the disciple of Shai*kh* Aḥmad.[5]

Ibrāhīm Adham is said to have been a well known scholar and the author of a treatise of Sufīsm, called *Maqāmāt*[6], which does not now exist. He died in 841/1437[7] and was buried in what is now called Shā'irwārī in Srīnagar.[8]

Shai*kh* Fatḥu'llāh Ḥāfiẓ[9] was the son of Shai*kh* Aḥmad, whom he succeeded as the head of the Kubravīyas in Kashmīr.[10] Nothing is known about his activities, but his son Shai*kh* Ismā'īl, whom he appointed his *khalifa,*[11] is quite famous.

Shai*kh* Ismā'īl was a distinguished Ṣūfī as well as reputed *'ālim*. Scholars from Kābul and India, are said to have gathered at his seminary, which he had founded near his *khānqāh,* at Koh-i-Marān in Srīnagar.[12] It was equipped with a rich library,[13] and a hostel, where students were provided with

1. Ibid.
2. *B.S.*, f. 33a; *K.S.*, f. 16b; *F.K.*, f. 75a; *T.H.*, III; p. 190; *T.K.*, p. 138.
3. *T.Az.*, p. 55; *T.H.*, III, p. 190; *T.K.*, p. 138.
4. *B.S.*, f. 33b; *F.K.*, f. 75a; *T.H.*, III, p. 190; *T.K.*, p. 138.
5. *F.K.*, f. 75a; *T.H.*, III, p. 190; *T.K.*, p. 138.
6. *F.K.*, f. 75a; *T.H.*, III, p. 190.
7. *F.K.*, f. 75a; *T.H.*, III, p. 190; *T.K.*, p. 138.
8. *K.S.*, f. 56b; *T.Az.*, p. 55; *F.K.*, f. 75a; *T.H.*, III, p. 190; *T.K.*, p. 138.
9. He was called "Ḥāfiẓ", as he had learnt the whole Qur'ān by heart—*A,Ab.*, f. 112a; *K.S.*, f. 58b; *T.Az.*, p. 66; *F.K.*, f. 78b; *T.H.*, III, p. 192; *T.K.*, p. 143.
10. Ibid.
11. *A.Ab.*, f. 112a; *K.S.*, f. 59a; *T.Az.*, p. 75; *F.K.*, f. 79b; *T.H.*, III, p. 193; *T.K.*, p. 144.
12. *T.Ks.*, f, 22b; *A.Ab.*, f. 113a; *F.K.*, f. 80a; *T.H.*, III, p. 103; *T.K.*, p. 144.
13. *T.H.*, III, p. 193; *T.K.*, p. 145.

free board and lodging, was attached to it.[1] Sulṭān Ḥasan Shāh and his successors, Muḥammad Shāh and Fatḥ Shāh used to pay for the maintenance of the institution.[2]

Shaikh Ismā'īl was very well known in the religious circles of his time. Sulṭān Ḥasan Shāh had appointed him as his *Shaikhu'l-Islam*,[3] in which capacity he is said to have constructed a number of mosques and *khānqāhs* in the Valley.[4] Towards the end of his life, Shaikh Ismā'īl led a life of complete retirement and appointed Bābā 'Alī Najār as his *khālifa*.[5] The Shaikh died on 1 Rabī'u'l-Auwal, 916/8 June, 1510, and was burried near his own *khānqāh* at Koh-i-Marān.[6]

Bābā 'Alī Najār, however, came under the influence of Shaikh Shamsu'd-Dīn 'Irāqī and joined the Shī'ī sect,[7] the burden of the maintenance of the *khānqāh* and the seminary thus falling upon Shaikh Ismā'īl's son, Shaikh Fatḥu'llāh.[8] By this time Kashmīr was torn by Shī'ī-Sunnī conflicts. Shaikh Fatḥu'llāh, as we shall discuss elsewhere, espoused the cause of the Sunnī sect. Through courting the wrath of Kājī Chak, an orthodox Shī'ī, who was the *wazir* of Muḥammad Shāh (IV, 1517-28), his property was confiscated[9] and he was forced to emigrate to Sialkot, where he spent the rest of his life.[10]

With the departure of Shaikh Fatḥu'llāh from the Valley, the *khānqāh* and the seminary of Shaikh Ismā'īl were abandoned and with it came to an end that chain of the Kubravīya

1. *T.Ks.*, f. 22b; *A.Ab.*, f. 113a; *F.K.*, f. 80a; *T.H.*, III, p. 193; *T.K.*, p. 145.
2. Ibid.
3. *T.Ks.*, f. 22b; *A.Ab.*, f. 112b; *K.S.*, f 59a; *N.A.*, f. 55a; *F.K.*, f. 71b; *G.A.*, f. 139a; *T.H.*, III, p. 193; *T.K.*, p. 144.
4. Cf. *A.Ab.*, f. 112b; *F.K.*. f. 79b; *T.H.*, III, p. 193.
5. *T.Ks.*, f. 22a-b; *T.Az.*, p. 75; *G.A.*, f. 142a.
6. *F.K.*, f. 80b; *T.H*, III, p. 194; *T.K.*, p. 145.
7. See p. 216.
8. The sources say that he succeeded his father as the head of the Kubravīyas and do not point out that this happened after Bābā Alī embarced Shi ism—*T.Ks*, f. 24a; *T.Az.*, p. 77; *T.H.*, III, P. 198; *T.K.*, p. 148.
9. *N.A.*, f. 64a; *T.H.*, III, p. 199; *T.K.*, p. 148.
10. *K.S.*, f. 61b; *N.A.*, f. 64a; *F.K.*, f. 81a; *T.H.*, III, p. 199; *T.K.*, p. 148.

saints in Kashmīr which had continued from Saiyid 'Alī through Shaikh Sulaimān down to the sixteenth century.

Saiyid 'Alī had a number of disciples in his native land and other places in Persia, who did not accompany him to Kashmīr. The most distinguished among them were *Kh*wāja Isḥāq *Kh*atlānī and Amīr Mullā, generally known as Nūru'd-Dīn Ja'far Bada*kh*shī.[1] They both tutored his son Mīr Muḥammad, who later came to Kashmīr and acquired great influence there.[2] *Kh*wāja Isḥāq, also called "*Kh*wāja-i-buzurg" (great teacher or saint), was born at *Kh*atlān in 735/1334.[3] While still young he came under the influence of Saiyid 'Alī and became his disciple.[4] After the death of the Saiyid, *Kh*wāja Isḥāq succeeded him as his kh*alīfa*.[5]

The Kh*wāja*, himself had achieved great fame as a teacher,[6] and had attracted a large number of disciples, among whom was Saiyid Muḥammad Nūrba*kh*sh, the founder of the Nūrba*kh*shīya order.[7] According to Qāẓī Nūru'llāh Shustarī, both *Kh*wāja Isḥāq and Saiyid Muḥammad, in 816/1413, revolted against Shāh Ru*kh*[8] (808—850/1404—1447), of the line of Tīmūr, who ruled in Persia and Central Asia for nearly fifty years.[9] However, they were soon caught and imprisoned by Bāyazīd, the governor of *Kh*atlān.[10] The life of Saiyid Muḥammad was spared and *Kh*wāja Isḥāq was put to death[11] on 16 Sha'bān 816/10 November, 1413.[12]

1. Cf. *F.K.*, ff. 66b; 102a.
2. See infra, pp. 132 ff.
3. *F.K.*, f. 102a.
4. Ibid., f. 102a-b.
5. Cf. ibid., f. 66b.
6. Ibid., f. 102b.
7. *Majālisu'l-Mu'minīn*, p. 313.
8. Ibid., p. 314. See also H. Blochmann, *A.A.*, III, introduction, p. XXVIII, n. 1.
9. Sykes, *A History of Persia*, II, p. 137.
10. *Majālisu'l-Mu'minīn*, p. 314.
11. Ibid., p. 314.
12. *F.K.*, f. 102b. Wahhāb maintains that Shāh Ru*kh* was alarmed at the popularity of *Khwā*ja Isḥāq and ordered his execution—*F.K.*, f. 102b.

Little is known of Ja'far Badakhshī, except that he was highly educated and no spiritual guide was able to influence him.[1] In 735/1334, his brother, Haqqū, introduced him to his guide, Saiyid 'Alī at 'Alīshāh (a village in *Khatlān*).[2] Impressed by Saiyid 'Alī, Ja'far Badakhshī became his disciple[3] and later wrote a treatise, the Kh*ulāṣatu'l-Manāqib*,[4] describing the life and spiritual achievements of his preceptor.

Mīr Muḥammad

When Saiyid 'Alī died, his son Mīr Muḥammad, born in 744/1372[5] at *Khatlān*[6], was only twelve years old. Before his death Saiyid 'Alī had written two documents for his son, one the *wasīyat-nāma* (testament) and the other kh*ilāfat-nāma*, and had asked the disciples who were with him to send them to *Khwāja* Isḥāq and Ja'far Badakhshī.[7] In his testament, Saiyid 'Alī had advised his son that he should first complete his education and then travel to improve his character and enlighten his heart and soul.[8]

Mīr Muḥammad entered the discipleship of *Khwāja* Isḥāq and learnt early lessons of Sufism from him, for three years and five months.[9] Then he went to Ja'far Badakhshī, under, whose guidance he remained for seven months.[10] It seems that, while still young, Mīr Muḥammad attracted some disciples of his father[11] and set off with them for Kashmīr. This was the second wave of Kubravīyas entering into the Valley.

1. Ibid., f. 66b.
2. *K.M.*, f. 525-6.
3. Ibid., pp., 526 ff; *F.K.*, f. 66b.
4. It was commenced in 787/1385-86—*K.M.*, p. 439.
5. *F.K.*, f. 51b; *T.H.*, II, p. 160, III, p. 23; *T.K.*, p. 23.
6. *A.Ab.*, f. 38b; *F.K.*, f. 65b.
7. *Ibid.*, ff. 61b-62a.
8. *Ibid.*, f. 62a.
9. *Ibid.*, *T.H.*, III, p. 23; *T.K.*, pp. 23-24.
10. *Ibid.*
11. Cf. *F.K.*, f. 62a.

He arrived in Kashmīr, in 796/1393[1], at the age of twenty-two[2], where he made Sulṭān Sikander (1389-1413) as his disciple.[3] The Sulṭān built a beautiful Khānqāh for him in Srīnagar, at the spot where Saiyid 'Alī had earlier stayed during his visit to the Valley. For its maintenance he granted the revenues of the two *parganas* and the revenues of a separate *pargana* he assigned for Mīr Muḥammad's exclusive use.[4]

Soon after his arrival in Kashmīr Mīr Muḥammad plunged himself into the activity of teaching and preaching Islam. The most important person who accepted Islam at his hands was a high Hindu official Sūha Bhatta[5], who later became his devout follower[6]. The latter adopted Saifu'd-Dīn as his Islamic name and married his daughter to the Mīr.[7]

The advent of Mīr Muḥammad in Kashmīr marked a turning point in its history. In the early years of his reign, Sulṭān Sikandar followed the policy of tolerance towards non-Muslims as practised by his predecessors. His principal officials such as Sūha Bhatta, Udaka, Ladrāja and Shankra were

1. Wahhāb says that the Mīr arrived there in 811/1408. But at the same time he gives the chronogram *Kīshrin pīrāhāu* (*F.K.*, f. 62b), which gives the Mīr's date of arrival in Kashmīr, 796/1393. Miskīn gives both the dates 796/1393 and 811/1408—*T.K.*, p. 24.
2. *T.Ks.*, f. 9b; *B.S.*, f. 26a; *T.Km.*, f 94b; *A.Ab.*, f. 38a; *T.Az.*, p. 42; *T.H.*, III, p. 23.
3. *T.Ks.*, f. 9b; *F.K.*, f. 62b. See also *R.Tj.*, p. 57.
4. *T.Ks.*, ff. 10a, 12a-b; *B.S.*, ff. 35a-b, 36a; *T.Km.*, f. 96b; *T.Kh.*, f. 114b; *A.Ab.*, f. 38a; *T.Az.*, p. 42; *F.K.*, f. 62b; *T.H.*, III, p. 23; *T.K.*, p. 25.
5. *T.Ks.*, f. 14a; *T.Km.*, f. 95a; *T.Kh.*, ff. 112b-113a; *A.Ab.*, f. 38b; *T.Az.*, p. 42; *F.K.*, f. 62b; *T.H.*, III, p. 23; *T.K.*, p. 25. The office of Sūha Bhatta is not clearly known. Jonarāja calls him the "Councillor" of Sikandar (*R.Tj.*, p. 58), whereas some Persian chronicles call him "*sipah-sālār*" (commander-in-chief)—*T.Km.*, f. 95b; *A.Ab.*, f. 38b; *T.Az.*, p. 42.
6. Cf. *R.Tj.*, p. 68.
7. *T.Ks.*, f. 14a; *F.K.*, f. 62b; *T.H.*, III, p. 23; *T.K.*, p. 25.

Hindus[1] and no interference were made in their religious practices.[2]

After the arrival of Mīr Muḥammad the attitude of Sulṭān Sikandar changed[3] and an orthodox Islamic policy was introduced. The selling of wine, (public) dancing of women, music, and gambling were prohibited.[4] The *jizya* on non-Muslims was imposed for the first time.[5] Hindus were prevented from applying the *tilak* (religious mark) on their foreheads, and the custom of suttee (Hindu widow who immolates herself on her husband's funeral pyre) was banned.[6] Ancient temples such as at Pompur, Vijabror, Mortand, Anantnāg, Sopur[7] and Bārāmula were demolished.[8] Jonarāja writes :

1. Cf. *R.Tj.*, pp. 55, 58; *B.S.*, ff. 27a; *T.Km.*, f. 95a; *T.Kh.*, f. 112a; *A.Ab.*, f. 38b; *T.Az.*, p. 42; *F.K.*, f. 62b; *T.H.*, II, pp. 159-60; III, p. 23.
2. Cf. *R.Tj.*, pp. 54ff.
3. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 57.
4. *B.S.*, f. 26b; *T.Km.*, ff. 94b-95a; *T.H.*, II, p. 162. See also, *T.A.*, III, pt. II, p. 649.
5. *T.Ks.*, f. 13b; *T.Km.*, f. 95a; *T.Kh.*, f. 113a; *A.Ab.*, f. 38b; *T.Az.*, p. 41; *T.H.*, II, p. 160. Jonarāja (*R.Tj.*, p. 60) says that fine was imposed on non-Muslims, which can only have been the *jizya*.
6. *T.A.*, III, pt. II, p. 654; *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, II, p. 342. One modern scholar, while defending Sikandar's policy, says that if Sikandar abolished suttee, it had moral and humanitarian grounds and that in this he anticipated Akbar and Lord William Bentinck (Ṣūfī, *Kashmīr*, I, p. 149). This judgement is incorrect. Akbar did not abolish suttee completely, but only decreed that those Hindu widows who did not want to immolate themselves along with their husbands were not to be compelled to do so. As far as Bentinck (who abolished it completely) is concerned, we must recognise that he was a man of different culture, living at a different time (there was the difference of almost five centuries between him and Sikandar). Moreover, if Akbar or Bentinck banned suttee, they did it for the betterment of their people, and not as the champions of a particular religion like Sikandar.
7. It is said that while one lofty temple was being destroyed at Sopūr, a copper tablet came to light, on which written in Sanskrit was the prophecy that a person named Sikandar would destroy the temple—*T.H.*, II, p. 161. See also *T.A.*, III, pt. II, pp. 648-49.
8. *R.Tj.*, p. 160; *T.Ks.*, ff. 11b-12a, 13a, 14a; *F.K.*, f. 72a; *T.H.*, II, pp. 160-2. See also *T.A.*, III, pt. II, p. 648.

"The good fortune of the subjects left them, and so the king forgot his kingly duties and took delight, day and night, in breaking images."[1]

The question arises whether Mīr Muḥammad was exclusively responsible for the change in state policy or whether the new regulations only had his tacit backing and were the changes dictated by political reasons. Both Hindu[2] and Muslim[3] sources are unanimous that Sulṭān Sikandar introduced Islamic orthodoxy on the advice of Mīr Muḥammad. Jonarāja writes : "The king waited on him [Mīr Muḥammad] daily, humble as a servant, and like a student he daily took his lessons from him. He placed Muḥammad before him, and was attentive to him like a slave"[4] The medieval Muslim sources[5] inform us emphatically that infidelity was uprooted from Kashmir through Mīr Muḥammad's influence.

The above statements show that Mīr Muḥammad was not ready to give the status of *Zimmīs* to the Hindus of Kashmīr and treated them as *Kāfirs* who were not obedient to Islam but were at war with it.[6] His attitude was strongly opposed by Saiyid Muḥammad Ḥiṣārī, another Kubrarīya saint.

Saiyid Ḥiṣārī hailed from Ḥiṣār, where his ancestors had

1. *R.Tj.*, pp. 59-60.
2. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 57; *T.Ks.*, f. 98a.
3. *T.Ks.*, ff. 9b, 13b; *B.S.*, ff. 26b, 35a; *A.Ab.*, f. 38a-b; *T.Az.*, p. 43; *F.K.*, f. 62b; *T.H*, III, p. 24, 25; *T.K.*, p. 25. See also *T.A.*, III, pt. II, pp. 647-48.
4. *R.Tj.*, p. 57.
5. See note 5, p. 133.
6. Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī (1489-1517), who wanted to destroy some Hindu temples, was told by a Qāzī : "It is not permissible to injure a temple of long standing". Sikandar Lodī on hearing this told the Qāzī in anger that he was taking the side of the infidel and he would first kill him and would then proceed with his mission. "I have exposed what the *sharī'a*, says", replied the Qāzī, "if you do not bother about the *sharī'a*, then there is no need to ask (for legal advice)"—'Abdu'llāh, *Tārīkh-i-Dāwudī*, p. 29.

migrated from Sāmān, a village in Bal*kh*.[1] He seems to have been highly educated and an eminent Ṣūfī.[2] The date of his arrival in Kashmīr is not known, but apparently he reached there some time between 1389 and 1393, before the arrival of Mīr Muḥammad[3], in the reign of Sul*t*ān Sikandar.[4] He took up his residence at Nauhatta, in Srīnagar, where he spent the rest of his life as a recluse.[5] The Sul*t*ān used to visit him daily and held him in great esteem.[6] After the arrival of Mīr Muḥammad the Sul*t*ān was increasingly drawn towards him, and according to hagiological literature, this brought Saiyid Ḥiṣārī in conflict both with Sul*t*ān and Mīr Muḥammad. It is said that the latter used to complain to the Sul*t*ān that he showed greater regard to the young Mīr than he did to himself who was very old.[7] The account of conflict between Mīr Muḥammad and Saiyid Ḥiṣārī as given in the hagiological literature shows that their differences were personal; but there seem to have been deeper reasons behind the conflict between the two.

Mīr Muḥammad was no match for Saiyid Ḥiṣārī[8], in fact the Mīr had recognised him as superior to himself when he sought a *khilāfat-nāmā* from him.[9] The life of retirement and

1. *A.Ab.*, f. 42b; *T.Az.*, p. 43; *T.H.*, III, p. 22.
2. Cf. *T.Ks.*, f. 10a; *A.Ab.*, ff. 41b, 42b; *T.Az.*, pp. 43, 44; *T.H.*, III, p. 22; *T.K.*, pp. 22-3.
3. Cf. *T.Az.*, p. 3.
4. *T.Ks.*, f. 10a; *B.S.*, f. 37a; *A.Ab.*, f. 42a; *T.Az.*, p. 43; *T.H.*. III, p. 22; *T.K.*, p. 22.
5. *A.Ab.*, f. 42b; *T.Az.*, p. 44; *T.K.*, p. 23.
6. *T.Ks.*, f. 10a; *T.Az.*, p. 43.
7. *T.Ks.*, f. 10a; *B.S.*, f. 37a; *A.Ab.*, ff. 38a, 42a; *T.Az.*, pp. 43-4; *F.K.*, f. 65b; *T.H.*, III, pp. 24-5; *T.K.*, p. 25.
8. It is said that in a discussion, Saiyid Ḥiṣārī accused Mīr Muḥammad of being ignorant of religious knowledge, and Saiyid 'Alī appeared to his son, who was disappointed, in a dream and said : "I had advised you not to undertake any journey unless you had fully completed your education. Now what you are facing today is the result of violating my advice."—*T.Ks.*, f. 10a-b; *F.K.*, f. 65b. See also *T.H.*, III, pp. 24-25.
9. *T.Ks.*, f. 10b ; *T.Az.*, p. 42; *T.H.*, III, p. 25; *T.K.*, p. 25.

asceticism which Saiyid Ḥiṣārī led prevents us from concluding that he opposed Mīr Muḥammad for worldly motives. It is not unlikely that Saiyid Ḥiṣārī did not like the way in which Mīr Muḥammad and his patrons were preaching Islam; and his complaint to the Sul*t*ān was against the unhealthy influence of the Mīr. This is supported by the subsequent change in the attitude of Sul*t*ān Sikandar, as Jonarāja says that the Sul*t*ān "fixed with some difficulty a limit to the advance of the great sea of the Yavanas,"[1] and abolished *jizya* (*turuṣkadanda*).[2]

Thus, feeling the change in Sul*t*ān Sikandar's attitude and particularly on account of Saiyid Ḥiṣārī's opposition.[3] Mīr Muḥammad decided to leave the Valley after a stay of twelve years (808/1405).[4] He went first to Mecca and thence to *Kh*atlān, where he died[5] and was buried near the tomb of his father.[6]

Saiyid Ḥiṣārī continued to live in Kashmīr and died there. He was buried at *moḥalla* Nauhatta.[7] Throughout his life

1. *R.Tj.*, p. 65. The original meaning of "Yavana" was Ionian or Greek. But later on it was applied to any foreigner, including Muslims (cf. Monier Williams, *Sanskrit English Dictionary*, p. 848). Jonarāja, however, applies the term particularly to Saiyids, and "mlechcha" for common Muslims.

2. Jonarāja, *Rājataranginī*, ed. Srikanth Kaul, p. 112 (s:. 609).

3. *B.S.*, f. 37a; *A.Ab.*, f. 38b; *T.H.*, III, p. 25.

4. *T.Ks.*, f. 14a; *T.Az.*, p. 42. According to Wahhāb the Mīr left in 819/1416 and at the same time he says that Mīr Muḥammad stayed in the Valley for twelve years (*F.K.*, f 65b). Even if we accept Wahhāb's date of the Mīr's arrival in Kashmīr (811/1408, see supra, p. 130, n. 6), the Mīr should have left in 823/1420 (811+12). Likewise, both Ḥasan and Miskīn are wrong when they say that the Mīr left in 817/1414—*T.H.*, III, p. 25; *T.K.*, p. 25.

5. The exact date of his death is not known. According to Wahhāb, he died on 17 Rabī'u'l-Auwal, 887/6 May, 1482 (*F.K.*, f. 65b), whereas Ḥasan and Miskīn assert that he died on 17 Rabī'u'l-Auwal 854/30 April, 1450—*T.H.*, III. p. 25; *T.K.*, p. 25.

6. *B.S.*, f. 37a-b; *A.Ab.*, f. 38b; *T.Az.*, p. 43; *F.K.*, f. 65b; *T.H.*, III, p. 25; *T.K.*, p. 25.

7. *A.Ab.*, f. 42b; *T.Az.*, p. 44; *T.H*, III, p. 22; *T.K.*, p. 23.

he led a celibate[1] life and seems to have left no disciple of eminence.

Disciples of Mīr Muḥammad

According to some hagiological writers[2] three hundred saints and scholars came with Mīr Muḥammad to Kashmīr, but not more than the following nine are described by them. It seems that the numher is much exaggerated and if others came also they were of minor importance.

Saiyid Ḥusain Shīrāzī, commonly known as Qāzī Walī,[3] belonged to Shīrāz, where he held the post of a *qāzī*.[4] Because of a sound knowledge of *fiqh* and *ḥadīs*, which he is said to have possessed. Sulṭān Sikandar appointed him the *qāzī* of Kashmīr.[5] However, he soon gave up his post and spent the rest of his life as a recluse at Narparistān, in Srīnagar.[6]

Another companion of Mīr Muḥammad was Saiyid Aḥmad Sāmānī[7] bin Saiyid Kamālu'd-Dīn bin Saiyid Maḥmūd.[8] He was also an *'ālim* and the author of a lost treatise called *Tanwīr-i-Sirāj*, on the law of inheritance.[9] Sulṭān Sikandar appointed him too as a *qāzī*.[10] After his death he was buried at Fatḥkadal, in Srīnagar.[11]

Two other distinguished companions of Mīr Muḥammad

1. *Ibid.*
2. *T.Az.*, p. 42; *F.K.*, f. 62b; *T.H.*, III, p. 23; *T.K.*, p. 24.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 44; *Ibid.*, f. 73a; *Ibid.*, p. 26; *Ibid.*, p. 30.
4. *T.Ks.*, f. 11a; *B.S.*, f. 32a; *T.Az* , p. 41.
5. *Ibid.*, *F.K.*, f. 73b; *T.H.*, III, p. 26; *T.K.*, p. 30.
6. *T.Az.*, p. 44; *F.K.*, f. 73b; *T.H.*, III, p 26; *T.K.*, p. 30.
7. Wahhāb and Ḥasan call him Saiyid Muḥammad Sāmānī—*F.K.*, f. 72b; *T.H.*, III, p. 25.
8. *T.Ks.*, f. 10b; *T.Az.*, p. 44; *T.K.*, p. 27.
9. *T.Ks.* f. 10b; *T.Az.*, p. 44; *F.K.*, f. 72b; *T.H.*, III, p. 25; *T.K.*, p. 27.
10. *F.K.*, ff. 72b-73a.
11. *T.Ks.*, ff. 10a-11a; *T.Az.*, p. 44; *F.K.*, f. 73a; *T.H.*, III, p. 25; *T.K.*, pp. 27-28.

were Saiyid Muḥammad[1] and Saiyid Ṣadru'd-Dīn. Saiyid Muḥammad originally belonged to Loristān[2] and Saiyid Ṣadru'd-Dīn hailed from *Kh*urāsān.[3] Both of them were good architects[4] and built the mosque (*Jāmi'-màsjid*) at Sikandarpura,[5] which was completed in 804/1401.[6] This masque was constructed on the site of an old temple,[7] which was razed to the ground.[8] Saiyid Muḥammad breathed his last in 819/1416[9] and was buried near the *Jāmi'-masjid*.[10] Saiyid Ṣadru'd-Dīn, however, outlived him by two years and died in 821/1418[11]; he was buried near Zainakadal in Srīnagar.[12]

1. According to Mullā (*K.S* , f. 14b), Saiyid Muḥammad arrived in Kashmīr during the reign of Sul*t*ān Zainu'l-'Ābidīn (1420-1470). This means that he did not come to Kashmīr along with Mīr Muḥammad. But this is wrong for Saiyid Muḥammad is said to have constructed the *Jāmi'-masjid* in Kashmīr, along with Saiyid Ṣadru'd-Dīn, which was completed in 1401, nineteen years before Zainu'l-'Ābidin came to the throne.
2. *K.S.*, f. 14b; *F.K.*, f. 74a.
3. *T.Ks.*, f. 13a; *B.S.*, f. 35b; *K.S.*, f. 12b; *F.K.*, f. 74a.
4. *T.Ks.*, f. 13a; *A.Ab.*, f. 35b; *K.S.*, f. 12b; *T.Az.*, pp. 45-46.
5. *T.Ks.*, f. 13a; *A.Ab.*, f. 35b; *T.Az.*, pp. 45, 46; *F.K.*, f. 74a; *T.H.*, III, pp. 28, 29; *T.K.*, p. 26. Sikandarpura is now called Nauhatta, a suburb in Srīnagar.
6. *T.Ks.*, f. 13a. According to Wahhāb the mosque was completed in 814/1411 (*F.K.*, f. 74a), which is wrong as he himself says that it was completed before the departure of Mīr Muḥammad who left the Valley in 808/1405. The present mosque, which according to Lawrence is "Saracenic" (*The Valley of Kashmīr*, p. 290), is not that which Saiyid Muḥammad and Saiyid Ṣadru'd-Dīn designed. The earlier mosques caught fire many times, even during the reign of Aurangzeb (1658-1707), who rebuilt it in 1090/1679—*F.K.*, f. 74b.
7. Lawrence believes that it was a Buddhist shrine—*op. cit.*, p. 291.
8. *T.Ks.*, f. 13a; *F.K.*, f. 74a.
9. *T.H.*, III, p. 28.
10. *T.Ks.*, f. 29a; *A.Ab.*, f. 37b; *T.Az.*, p. 46; *F.K.*, f. 74b; *T.H.*, III, p. 28; *T.K.*, p. 26.
11. *F.K.*, f. 74b; *T.H.*, III, p. 29.
12. *T.Az.*, p. 46; *F.A.*, f. 74b; *T.H.*, III, p. 29; *T.K.*, p. 26.

Another companion of Mīr Muḥammad of some eminence was Saiyid Ḥusain *Kh*wārazmī. He was held in great esteem by Sul*t*ān Sikandar who appointed him the tutor of his two sons, 'Alī Shāh and Zainu'l-'Ābidīn.[1] It is said that when, on the advice of Mīr Muḥammad, the temple at Muniwār in Srīnagar, was destroyed, Saiyid Ḥusain was asked by his preceptor to live there.[2] He spent the rest of his life there and was buried in the same *moḥalla*.[3]

Saiyid Nūru'd-Dīn was the nephew of Saiyid Ḥusain,[4] who had come to Kashmīr during the reign of Sul*t*ān Shihābu'd-Dīn.[5] According to Miskīn,[6] Saiyid Nūru'd-Dīn received his early education from Saiyid Ḥusain. He is buried near *Rang-masjid*, in Srīnagar.[7]

Saiyid Jalālu'd-Dīn Bu*kh*ārī was also one of the companions of Mīr Muḥammad. Nothing is known about him except that he lies buried at *Mazār-i-Salāṭīn*, in Srīnagar.[8]

Saiyid Muḥammad Madanī, commonly known in Kashmīr as "Madīn Ṣāḥib", was originally from Madīna.[9] He left his home and entered the service of Tīmūr.[10] When Tīmūr invaded India, he took Saiyid Madanī with him. From Sind he deputed Saiyid Madanī, in 801/1399,[11] as his envoy to the court of Sul*t*ān Sikandar of Kashmīr.[12] Impressed by the patronage, Sul*t*ān Sikandar gave to Muslim saints and scholars.

1. *T.Ks.*, f. 12a; *F.K.*, f. 73a; *T.H.*, III, p. 29.
2. *T.Ks.*, ff. 11b-12a; *T.Az.*, p. 46; *F.K.*, f. 73a; *T.H.*, III, p. 29; *T.K.*, p. 33.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *T.Ks.*, 11a; *T.Az.*, p. 45; *F.K.*, f. 73b; *T.H.*, III, p. 27; *T.K.*, p. 32.
5. See for his bibliography supra p. 114.
6. *T.K.*, p. 32.
7. *T.Ks.*, ff. 11a 30a; *T.Az.*, p. 45; *F.K.*, f. 73b; *T.H.*, III, p. 27; *T.K.*, p. 32.
8. *T.Ks.*, f. 11b; *T.Az.*, p. 45; *T.H.*, III, p. 27; *T.K.*, p. 32.
9. Nizāmu'd-Dīn Shāmī, *Zafar-Nāmā*, I, p. 177; *A.Ab.*, f. 39a; *K.S.*, f. 9a; *F.K.*, f. 73b.
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Zafar-Nāmā*, I, p. 177.
12. *Ibid.*, I, p. 177; *A.Ab.*, f. 39a; *T.Az.*, p. 46; *F.K.*, f. 73b; *T.H.*, III, p. 29; *T.K.*. p. 30.

Saiyid Madanī, after completing his mission as an envoy, returned with his family to Kashmīr, and settled there.[1]

In Kashmīr he became the desciple of Mīr Muḥammad,[2] but, unlike his preceptor, Saiyid Madanī did not show any interest in teaching or preaching, and lived a quiet life at Rainawārī, in Srīnagar.[3] He does not seem to have received any special favour from Sul*t*ān Sikandar, whose patronage had drawn him to Kashmīr. However, when Zainu'l-'Ābidīn came to the throne, he became a devotee of Saiyid Madanī and asked him to move to his new capital at Naushahra.[4] There he built for him a *Khānqāh* near his own palace[5]. Saiyid Madanī died on 11 Rajab, 849/13 October, 1445,[6] and his tomb at Naushahra still exists.

Saiyid 'Alā'd-Dīn Bu*kh*ārī,[7] another companion of Mīr Muḥammad, was the descendant of Ma*kh*dūm Jahānīyān,[8] the celebrated Suhrawardī saint. Sul*t*ān Sikandar, on the recommendation of Mīr Muḥammad, assigned the revenue of the

1. *A.Ab.*, f. 39a-b; *T.Az.*, p. 46; *F.K.*, f. 73b; *T.H.*, III, p. 29; *T.K.*, p. 30.
2. *T.Az.*, p. 46; *F.K.*, f. 73b; *T.H.*, III, p. 29; *T.K.*, p. 30. Saiyid 'Alī wrongly says that Saiyid Madanī had come to Kashmīr with Mīr Muḥammad—*T.Ks.*, f. 28b.
3. *A.Ab.*, f. 3)b; *T.Az.*, p. 46; *F.K.*, f. 73b; *T.H.*, III, p. 29; *T.K.*, p. 30.
4. *T.Ks.*, f. 28b; *A.Ab.*, f. 40b; *F.K.*, f. 74a; *T.H.*, III, p. 30; *T.K.*, p. 31.
5. *A.Ab.*, f. 40b; *F.K.*, f. 74a.
6. *F.K.*, f. 74a. Ḥasan and Miskīn give the date of his death as 11 Rajab, 894/10 June 1488 (*T.H.*, III, p. 30; *T.K.*, p. 39). But Miskīn himself, elsewhere (*T.K.* p. 31) says that the funeral prayer of Saiyid Madanī was led by Sha*ikh* Bahāu'd-Dīn Ganjba*khs*h (d. 849/1445), which is also supported by earlier sources—cf. *A.Ab.*, f. 41a; *F.K.*, f. 74a.
7. Ḥasan and Miskīn call him "Baihaqī"—*T.H.*, III, p. 26; *T.K.*, p. 31.
8. *T.Ks.* f. 11b; *A.Ab.*, f. 43a; *T.Az.*, p. 44; *F.K.*, f. 73a; *T.H.* III, p. 26; *T.K.*, p. 31.

village Sikandarpura[1] in *pargana* Biru, for his maintenance.[2] He settled down at Sikandarpura, and was buried there after his death.[3]

Saiyid 'Alā'u'd-Dīn had four sons, Saiyid Ẓiyā'u'd-Dīn, Saiyid Muḥammad, Saiyid Tāju'd-Dīn and Saiyid Fa*kh*ru'd-Dīn. Saiyid Ẓiyā'u'd-Dīn also called Saiyid Zīrak, lies buried at the village of Kandhom in Bārāmūla district,[4] Saiyid Muḥammad[5] and Saiyid Tāju'd-Dīn[6] were buried at Sikandarpura, near the grave of their father.

Saiyid Fa*kh*ru'd-Dīn died in his youth,[7] leaving behind a young son named Saiyid Ḥājī Murād.[8] He was educated by his uncle, Saiyid Zīrak,[9] and later he went on pilgrimage, and then travelled to Irān and Central Asia.[10] At Madīna[11] he came into contact with Shai*kh* Isḥāq, a Sha*tt*ārī saint, and became his disciple.[12] But when he reached *Kh*wārazm he met Shai*kh* 'Abdu'llāh Burzishābādī, a Kubravīya saint, and

1. This village should not be taken for the town of Sikandarpura in Srīnagar, which was founded by Sul*t*ān Sikandar. It is not possible to identify the village Sikandarpura with certainty, but it may be the modern village of Singhpura, as this is the only known settlement with a name in Biru.
2. *T.Ks.*, f. 11a-b; *F.K.*, f. 73a.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *T.Ks.*, f. 29a; *A.Ab.*, f. 43b; *T.Az.*, p. 45; *F.K.*, f. 74b; *T.H.*, III, p. 27; *T.K.*, p. 31.
5. *T.H.*, III, p. 27; *T.K.*. p. 32.
6. *T.Ks.*, ff. 28b-29a; *T.Az.*, p. 45; *F.K.*, f. 73a; *T.H.*, III, p. 27; *T.K.*, p. 31.
7. *T.Ks.*, f. 28b; *A.Ab.*, f. 43b; *T.Az.*, p. 45; *F.K.*, f. 73a; *T.H.*, III, p. 27; *T.K.*, p. 32.
8. *A.Ab.*, f. 99b; *T.Az.*, p. 61; *T.H.*, III. p. 40; *T.K.*, p. 32.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *T.K.*, f. 30a; *A.Ab.*, f. 99b; *T.Az.*, p. 61; *T.H.*, III, p. 41; *T.K.*, p. 32.
11. *T.Ks.*, f. 30a; *T.K.*, p. 3'. A'zamī and Ḥasan says that he met Shai*kh* Isḥāq in Iran (*T.Az.*, p. 61; *T.H.*, III, p. 41). But Shai*kh* Isḥāq seems to have been the same person who taught and initiated Bābā 'Usmān and Saiyid Ḥusain Rūmī into Sufism, at Madīna—cf. *T.Ks.*, f. 30a. See also *infra*, pp. 153, 154.
12. *T.Ks.*, f. 30a; *A.Ab* , f. 99b; *K.S.*, f. 10a; *T.Az.*, p. 61; *T.H.*, III, p. 41; *T.K.*, p. 32.

enrolled himself among his disciples.[1] After receiving the khi*lafāt-nāmā* from him,[2] Saiyid Murād returned to Kashmīr in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh,[3] and settled at the village of Krairī in the *pargana* Krūhin.[4] Unlike his predecessors, Saiyid Murād did not accept government grants or gifts, but earned his living by cultivating a piece of land.[5] He breathed his last in 895/1489[6] and was buried in his kh*ānqāh* in Krairi.[7]

Baihaqī Saiyids

Another influential group of Kubravīya saints who came to Kashmīr was that of the Baihaqī Saiyids. This family produced not only remarkable Ṣufīs, but also important politicians. They claimed their descent from one Saiyid Tāju'd-Dīn of Baihaq,[8] who is said to have been an eminent saint of that town.[9]

Saiyid Tāju'd-Dīn had two sons named Saiyid Muḥammad and Saiyid Nūru'd-Dīn.[10] Saiyid Muḥammad and his nephew Saiyid Ḥusain[11] bin Saiyid Nūru'd-Dīn migrated to

1. *T.Az.*, p. 61; *T.H.*, III, p. 41; *T.K.*, p. 32.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *T.Ks.*, f. 30a. It is not stated during what period of the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, who ruled four times (1484-86, 1493-1505, 1514-15 and 1517-28), he reached Kashmīr. However, from the date of his death it seems that he arrived there during the first period.
4. *T.Ks.*, f. 30a; *K.S.*, f. 10a; *T.Az.*, p. 61; *T.H.*, III, p. 41; *T.K.*, p. 32. Krūhin is to the west of Kashmīr, just before the river Jehlum flows out of the valley.
5. *T.Az.*, p. 61; *T.H.*, III, p. 41; *T.K.*, p. 32.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 32.
7. *T.Ks.*, f. 30a; *K.S.*, f. 10a; *T.Az.*, p. 61; *T.H.*, III, p. 41; *T.K.*, p. 32.
8. *F.T.*, f. 75a; *T.H.*, III, p. 32; *T.K.*, pp. 27, 35. Baihaq is the modern town of Sabzavār *Khurāsan.*
9. *T.H.*, III, p. 32.
10. *F.K.*, f. 75a; *F.Q.*, f. 189a; *T.H.*, III, pp. 31-3; *T.K.*, pp. 27, 35.
11. The author of *B.S.*, (f. 33b) and A'zamī (*T.Az.*, p. 47) call him Saiyid Ḥasan. But in fact Saiyid Ḥasan was the name of his son (see infra, p. 150, for his bibliography). A'zamī, however, at another place rightly calls him Saiyid Ḥusain and his son Saiyid Ḥasan—*T.Az.*, p. 52.

Kashmīr, along with their families, during the reign of Sul*t*ān Sikandar.[1]

The Hamadānī Saiyids—Saiyid 'Alī and his disciples—were mainly teachers and preachers, and sought the help of the Sul*t*āns and their nobles to spread the faith of Islam ; but the Baihaqī Saiyids generally concentrated their energies on establishing family relations with the ruling house and the high officers of the government. Soon after their arrival in Kashmīr they made matrimonial alliances with the royal family. Saiyid Muḥammad's daughter known as Baihaqī Begum, was married to prince Shāhī *Kh*ān (Zainu'l-'Ābidīn).[2] Later his great-grand-daughter, Ḥayāt *Kh*ātūn, was married to Sul*t*ān Ḥasan Shāh (1472-84).[3]

The family relations with the ruling house helped the Baihaqī Saiyids to obtain important posts in the administration[4] such as that of *wazīr.* They took active part in the intrigues and rebellions which followed the death of Zainu'l-'Ābidīn. Sul*t*ān Ḥasan Shāh, the grandson of Zainu'l-'Ābidīn, exiled the Baihaqī Saiyids, including his father-in-law, Saiyid Ḥasan Baihaqī, grandson of Saiyid Muḥammad Baihaqī. According to Shrīvara, Ḥasan Shāh considered them as "turbulent chiefs."[5] However, from Shrīvara's following statements it seems that their exile was caused through the machination of the Sul*t*ān's *wāzīr,* Malik Aḥmad Yattū.[6]

Meanwhile the nobles of the court were divided into two parties, one headed by Malik Aḥmad Yattū and the other by Tāzī Bhatt, who was an important military chief and a trusted friend of the Malik before the Baihaqī Saiyids were exiled.[7] Thus, in order to destroy Tāzī Bhatt, he sought the help of the Baihaqī Saiyids and recalled them from Delhi.[8] But

1. *T.Az.*, p. 27; *T.H.*, III pp. 31, 32; *T.K.*, p. 27.
2. *R.Ts.*, p. 157; *T.Ks.*, f. 17b; *T.H.*, III, p. 33; *T.K.*, p. 35.
3. *R.Ts.*, p. 241; *T.H.*, II, p. 190.
4. Cf. *R.Ts.*, p. 251; *B.S.*, ff. 50b-51a.
5. *R.Ts.*, p. 222.
6. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 241.
7. Ibid., pp. 238-41.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 241-43.

these ambitious Saiyids had not forgotten the wrong he had done to them. As soon as they had re-established themselves, they intrigued against Malik Aḥmad and had him imprisoned, and the post of *wazīr* was assumed by Saiyid Ḥasan.[1] Meanwhile Sulṭān Ḥasan Shāh died and the Baihaqī Saiyids put on the throne his minor son, Muḥammad Shāh (whose first reign period was 1484-1486), who was also the grandson of Saiyid Ḥasan through his daughter Ḥayāt *Kh*ātūn.[2] The Baihaqī Saiyids now started harassing other prominent Kashmīrī nobles,[3] who in turn hatched a plot against them and on 30 Zīqa'd, 889/8 December, 1484,[4] made a surprise attack and killed fifteen of them, including Saiyid Ḥasan.[5]

A servant, though wounded, escaped and informed Saiyid Muḥammad, son of Saiyid Ḥasan, of the tragedy. He soon rushed to the scene, but the Kashmīrīs had already left the place.[6] Saiyid Muḥammad succeeded his father as the *wazīr* of Muḥammad Shāh, but the Kashmīrīs soon reorganised themselves and made another attack on the Baihaqīs. The latter were defeated and obliged to leave the country once again.[7]

However, in the second half of the sixteenth century, the Baihaqīs again established themselves in Kashmīr and played an even more important role in the affairs of that country. In 986/1578-79, Saiyid Mubārak Baihaqī, great-grandson of Saiyid Ḥasan, deposed Yūsuf Shāh Chak and ascended the throne himself.[8] On account of his saintly nature, he sold the crown which the Sulṭāns wore, and distributed the money

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 245 51.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 267. See also p. 264.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 269.
4. *T.Az.*, p. 59; *F.K.*, f. 78b; *T.H.*, III, p. 38; *T.K.*, p. 29. According to the author of *B.S.* (f 63b), this happened in 893/1487-8. But this seems wrong as it happened during the first reign of Muḥammad Shāh (cf. *R.Ts.*, pp. 270-71), which lasted only up to 1486.
5. *R.Ts.*, p. 272; *B.S.*, f. 63a-b; *T.Az.*, p. 58; *F.K.* f. 76b; *T.H.* III, p. 48; *T.K.*, p. 29.
6. *R.Ts.*, pp. 272-3; *B.S.*, ff. 66b-67a.
7. *R.Ts.*, pp. 291ff.
8. *B.S.*, ff. 148b-149a; *T.Az.*, p. 94,

among the poor ; after ruling a couple of months he gave up the kingship.[1]

The founder of this dynasty in Kashmīr was, however, Saiyid Muḥammad Baihaqī, who, as already pointed out, arrived there in the reign of Sulṭān Sikandar and was warmly received by the latter. The Sulṭān assigned him the revenues of the *pargana* Bangil,[2] but he settled down in the village of Kandhom, because of which he came to be known as Saiyid Muḥammad Kandhom.[3] Saiyid Muḥammad was a reputed scholar and poet, and had composed a *dīwān* of forty thousand verses on Sufism.[4] But none of his poetry has survived, as far as is known. When he died, he was buried at Kandhom,[5] where a tomb exists bearing his name to this day.

Saiyid Ḥusain Baihaqī-bin-Saiyid Nūru'd-Dīn was also a well known scholar, particularly of logic, and was famous as *mantiqi* ("logician") ; hence his descendants came to be known as "Manṭiqī Saiyids".[6] During the reign of 'Alī Shāh (1413-1420), Saiyid Ḥusain migrated to India. It is said that he was suspected by Sulṭan 'Alī Shāh for conspiring with an Indian army, which had come to invade the Valley.[7] This army[8] was none but that of the Khokars which supported Zainu'l-'Ābidīn, when the latter successfully revolted against his brother, 'Alī Shāh.[9] There is every possibility that Saiyid Ḥusain was trying to secure the throne for Zainu'l-'Ābidīn, who was married to his cousin, Baihaqī Begum. *Bahāristān-i-Shāhī* supporting the above statement, says that 'Alī Shāh did not like the Baihaqī Saiyids and many of them left the Valley.[10]

1. *Ibid.*, ff. 149a-150b; *Ibid.*, p. 94.
2. *T.H.*, III, p. 33; *T.K.*, p. 35.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. Ibid , p. 32; Ibid., p. 27.
7. *F.Q.*, f 189a-b; *T.H.*, III, pp. 31-32; *T.K.*, p. 27.
8. There is no evidence that the Delhi Sulṭāns sent any army, at this time, to invade the Valley.
9. *R.Tj.*, pp. 73-75; *T.A.*, III, Pt. II, pp. 651-2.
10. *B.S.*, ff. 38a-39b.

Thus when Zainu'l-'Ābidīn came to the throne, after defeating 'Alī Shāh, he soon recalled Saiyid Ḥusain to his court.[1] The Sulṭān showed great regard for the Saiyid and his wife, Baihaqī Begum, adopted the youngest son of Saiyid Ḥusain, named Saiyid Amīn, as her son.[2] When Saiyid Ḥusain died, he was buried in the mausoleum of the Sulṭāns, at *Mazār i-Salāṭīn,* in Srīnagar.[3]

Saiyid Ḥasan Manṭiqī was the eldest son of Saiyid Ḥusain Baihaqī or Manṭiqī.[4] He had received his education and initiation into Kubravīya order from his father,[5] and was widely known in Kashmīr for his scholarship.[6] After travelling extensively in the various parts of the Valley, he finally settled at Avantipura.[7] There he led a life of a teacher and preacher until his death.[8]

Another disciple of Saiyid Ḥusain was Saiyid Naṣīru'd-Dīn, the son of Saiyid Muḥammad Baihaqī.[9] He was held in great esteem by Sulṭān Zainu'l-'Ābidīn.[10] For reasons that remain unknown, he migrated to India "during the lifetime of King Jaina (Zainu'l-'Ābidīn)."[11] His relatives, however, recalled him during the reign of Sulṭān Ḥasan Shāh (1472-1484),[12] who was married to his grand-daughter.[13] On his way to Kashmīr,

1. Ibid., f. 39a; *F.Q.*, f. 189b; *T.H.*, III, p. 32.
2. *T.Ks.*, f. 17b; *B.S.*, ff. 33b-34a; *A.Ab.*, f. 101b; *T.Az.*, p. 55; *F.K.*, f. 75a-b; *T.H.*, III, p. 32; *T.K.*, p. 27.
3. *T.Ks.*, f. 29a; *A.Ab.*, f. 101a; *T.Az.*, p. 47; *F.K.*, f. 75b; *T.H.*, III, p. 32; *T.K.*, p. 27.
4. *A.Ab.*, f. 101a; *T.Az.*, p. 52; *F.K.*, f. 75b; *T.H.*, III, p. 33; *T.K.*, p. 28.
5. *F.K.*, f. 75b.
6. *T.Az.*, p. 52; *F.K.*, f. 75b; *T.H.*, III, p. 33; *T.K.*, p. 28.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. *T.H.*, III, p. 41; *T.K.*, p. 39.
10. *R.Ts.*, p. 222; *T.H.*, III, p. 42; *T.K.*, p. 39.
11. *R.Ts.*, p. 222. Ḥasan and Miskīn say that he left Kashmīr during Ḥasan Shāh's reign (*T.H.*, III, p. 42; *T.K.*, p. 39). But Shrīvara, being contemporary, is more reliable.
12. *R.Ts.*, p. 251; *T.H.*, III, p. 42; *T.K.*, p. 39,
13. See supra, p. 145.

he fell seriously ill, reached there in an almost dying state and breathed his last only two days later.[1]

Other Kubravī Saints of Kashmīr

Among the Kashmīrī Kubravīya saints of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the most prominent were Shai*kh* Bahāu'd-Dīn and Shai*kh* Ya'qūb Ṣarfī. Shai*kh* Bahāu'd-Dīn, popularly called Ganjba*kh*sh ("bestower of treasuries"), flourished in the fifteenth century. During his youth he left Kashmīr to travel to Central Asia and Irān. At *Kh*atlān he came into contact with *Kh*wāja Isḥāq *Kh*atlānī, the celebrated disciple of Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī, and became his disciple.[2] After coming back to the Valley, he lived a life of retirement for some time.[3] But very soon people came to know of him and a large number, including Sul*t*ān Zainu'l-'Ābidīn and his wife Baihaqī Begum, began to visit him to seek his blessing.[4] Hagiological literature attributes to him a number of miracles which are said to have made him very famous.[5]

In the later years of his life Shai*kh* Bahāu'd-Dīn turned a *mājzub* and used to wander from place to place.[6] One night in

1. *R.Ts.*, pp. 251-2. Ḥasan and Miskīn suggest that he did not reach Kashmīr and died at Bhimber, near the southern border of Kashmīr (*T.H.*, III, p. 42; *T.K.*, p. 39). But we must, once again, accept the statement of the contemporary authority, Shrīvara, who gives an account of Saiyid Naṣīr's meeting with his relatives at Srīnagar—cf. *R.Ts.*, p. 252.

2. *T.Ks.*, f. 31a; *A.Ab.*, f. 108b; *K.S*, f. 66b; *T.Az.*, p. 52; *F.K.*, f. 103a; *T.H*, III, p. 188; *T.K.*, p. 139.

3. *A.Ab.*, f 108a-b; *K.S.*, f. 66b; *T.Az.*, p. 52; *F.K.*, f. 103b; *T.H.*, III, p. 188; *T.K.*, p. 139.

4. *A.Ab.*, f 109a; *K.S*, f. 67a; *F.K*, f. 103b; *T.H.*, III, p. 188; *T.K.*, p. 140.

5. One of the miracles attributed to Shai*kh* Bahāu'd-Dīn is that once Sul*t*ān Zainu'l-'Ābidīn asked the Shai*kh* to sail with him in a boat. The Shai*kh* refused, but when the Sul*t*ān insisted, he threw his prayer-mat on the water and jumped on it and used it as a boat. The boatmen of the Sul*t*ān tried to catch him but in vain—*A.Ab.*, f. 109a; *F.K.*, f. 103b; *T.H.*, III, p. 188; *T.K.*, p. 140.

6. *K.S.*, f. 68a; *F.K.*, f. 103b; *T.K*, p. 139.

849/1445,[1] while he was in a state of ecstasy, some thieves caught him at Kreshbal[2] and put him to death.[3] The Shaikh had made a strange will to the effect that after his death his dead body should be tied with a rope and dragged to the burial ground.[4] When Zainu'l-'Ābidīn was informed of this, in obedience to the wishes of the Shaikh, he ordered that the dead body be put on a board and then dragged to the burial ground.[5] The corpse thus dragged was buried near Malkha, in Srīnagar, now called *Mazār-i-Ganjba*khsh.[6]

Among the disciples of Shaikh Bahāu'd-Dīn are mentioned Bābā 'Usmān and Saiyid Ḥusain Rūmī. Bābā 'Usmān hailed from a well known family of Ganā'ī's, which was noted for their learning.[7] After completing his education, Bābā 'Usmān went on pilgrimage where he met one Shaikh Isḥāq Shattārī,[8] who initiated him into his order.[9] Later, on his preceptor's

1. *T.Az.*, p. 52. According to Wahhāb, Ḥasan and Miskīn, the Shaikh died on 4 Rajab, 843/11 December 1439 (*F.K.*, f. 103b; *T.H.*, III, p. 189; *T.K.*, p. 142). Wahhāb, whom Ḥasan and Miskīn seem to have followed, elsewhere says that Shaikh Bahāu'd-Dīn led the funeral prayer of Saiyid Madanī, whose date of death he gives as 11 Rajab, 849/13 October, 1445 (*F.K.*, f. 74a). This would mean that Bahāu'd-Dīn outlived Saiyid Madanī.
2. Even miles to the north-west of Srīnagar.
3. *T.Ks.*, f. 17b; *A.Ab.*, f. 169a; *K.S.*, f 67b; *T.Az.*, p. 52; *F.K.*, f. 103b; *T.H.*, III, p. 188; *T.K.*, p. 142.
4. *T.Ks.*, f. 18a; *T.Az.*, p. 52; *F.K.*, f. 103b; *T.H.*, III, p. 189; *T.K.*, p. 142.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. *R.N.*, f. 334b; *T.Az.*, p. 66; *T.H.*, III, p. 192; *T.K.*, p. 143.
8. Some of the sources are not consistent in giving his name. For example, Saiyid 'Alī at one place calls him Abū Isḥāq Shattārī (*T.Ks.*, f. 30a) and elsewhere Qāzī Isḥāq (Ibid., f. 31a). Likewise A'zamī at one place gives his name as Shaikh Isḥāq Shāmī (*T.Az.*, p. 53) and at another place he calls him Isḥāq Shattārī—Ibid., p. 66.
9. *T.Az.*, p. 66; *T.H.*, III, p. 192; *T.K.*, p. 143. According to some authorities, Shaikh Isḥāq did not initiate him into his order, but advised him to return to Kashmīr and there become the disciple of Bahāu'd-Dīn, whom Shaikh Isḥāq had seen at Mecca, praying every Friday—*T.Ks.*, f. 31a; *R.N.*, f. 334b; *K.S.*, f. 68a; *F.K.*, f. 104a,

advice, he returned to Kashmīr.[1] There he became the disciple of Shai*kh* Bahāu'd-Dīn and received initiation into Kubravīya order.[2]

After the death of Shai*kh* Bahāu'd-Dīn, Bābā 'U*s*mān succeeded him and became a source of inspiration for many people.[3] Sul*t*ān Zainu'l-'Ābidīn held him in great esteem and occasionally used to visit his khā*nqāh*.[4] When the Bābā died he was buried at *Mazār-i-Salātīn*.[5]

Saiyid Ḥusain[6] was originally a disciple of Shai*kh* Isḥāq,[7] the first teacher of Bābā 'U*s*mān. When the latter returned to Kashmīr, Saiyid Ḥusain accompanied him there and he too entered into the discipleship of Shai*kh* Bahāu'd-Dīn.[8] Saiyid Ḥusain breathed his last on 7 Rajab, 860/11 June, 1456[9], and was buried at Rājurīkadal,[10] in the interior of Srīnagar. His tomb, which still exists, remained a source of inspiration for many Kashmīrī saints. It is said that Shai*kh* Ḥamza Ma*kh*dūm used to visit it continuously for twelve years and acknowledge the blessing he received from there.[11]

Shaikh Ya'qūb Ṣarfī

Shai*kh* Ya'qūb Ṣarfī, a distinguished Kashmīrī saint and

1. Ibid.
2. *T.Ks.*, f. 31a-b; *R.N.*, f. 334b; *K.S.*, f. 68a; *T.Az.*, p. 66; *F.K.* f. 104a; *T.H.*, III, p. 192; *T.K.*, p. 143.
3. *K.S.*, f. 68a; *F.K.*, f. 104a.
4. *K.S.*, f. 68b; *T.Az.*, p. 66.
5. *R.N.*, f 334b; *K.S.*, f. 69a; *T.Az.*, p. 66; *F.K.*, f. 104a; *T.H.*, III, p. 192; *T.K.*, p. 143.
6. His ancestors seem to have belonged to Rūm (Turkey); this is why, perhaps, he is called "Rūmī" by some sources—*T.Az.*, p. 53; *T.K.*, p. 26.
7. *T.Ks.*, f. 30a; *A.Ab.*, f. 106b; *T.Az.*, p. 53; *F.K.*, f. 104a; *F.Q.*, f. 199b; *T.H.*, III, p. 39; *T.K.*, p. 26.
8. Ibid.
9. *F.K.*, f. 104b; *T.H.*, III, p. 39. Miskīn gives the date of his death as 7 Rajab, 861/31 May, 1457—*T.K.*, p. 26.
10. *T.Ks.*, f. 30a; *A.Ab.*, f. 106b; *T.Az.*, p. 53; *F.K.*, f. 104b; *T.H.*, III, p. 40; *T.K.*, p. 26.
11. *A.Ab.*, f. 106b; *T.Az.*, p. 53; *F.K.*, f. 104b; *F.Q.*, f. 2[illegible]0a; *T.H.*, III, p. 40.

scholar, was born in 928/1521, at Srīnagar.[1] According to later medieval Kashmīrī scholars, he memorised the Qur'ān at the age of seven[2] and started composing verses in Persian at the same age.[3] He used Ṣarfī (lit. a grammarian) as his *takhallūṣ* (*"nom de plume"*).[4] At the age of nineteen[5] he completed his education under teachers who included Maulānā Baṣīr and Maulānā Ānī.[6]

Maulānā Ānī, who himself was the student of the celebrated Irānian Ṣūfī and poet, 'Abdu'l-Raḥmān Jāmī (d. 1492),[7] was so impressed by Ṣarfī that he bestowed on him the title of "Jāmī-Sānī" (second Jāmī).[8] However, eager to learn more, Shaikh Ya'qūb Ṣarfī set out to visit India, Irān and Central Asia.[9] At Samarqand he came into contact with Makhdūm Kamālu'd-Dīn Shaikh Ḥusain of *Khwārazm*, a Kubravīya saint. The Shaikh taught him the tenets of Sufism

1. *T.Az.*, p. 110; *F.K.*, f. 117a; *T.H.*, III, p. 232. Miskīn at one place gives his date of birth as 928/1521 (*T.K.*, p. 171), and elsewhere 931/1524—*T.K.*, p. 174.

2. *T.Az.*, p. 110; *F.K.*, f. 117a; *T.H.*, III, p 232; *T.K.*, p. 171.

3. Ibid.
Chu dar sāl-i-haftum nihādam, qadm,
zi tab'am rawān gasht shi'r-i-'Ajam—Dīwān, p.c.

4. 'Abdu'l-Qādir Badāūnī, *Muntakhabu'l-Tawārīkh*, I, p. 403, III, p. 142; *F.K*, f. 117a; *T.H.*, III, p. 232; *T.K.*, p. 171. In some of his verses (cf. *Dīwān*, pp. 19, 21), Shaikh Ya'qūb uses "Ṣarfīya" as his pen name.

5. *F.K.*, f. 117a.

6. *T.Az.*, p. 110; *F.K.*, f. 117a; *T.H.*, III, p. 232. Maulānā Baṣīr (d. 946/1539) hailed from the *pargana* Kamrāj of Kashmīr. Nothing is known about his teachers, but it is said that he was a scholar of *fiqh*, *ḥadīs* and *mantiq* (*T.H.*, III, p. 212; *T.K.*, p. 146). Maulānā Ānī had emigrated to Kashmīr from Irān, some time in the beginning of the sixteenth century. As he was a student of Jāmī, he attracted many students to his seminary. *T.H.*, III, p. 213; *T.K.*, p. 155.

7. *T.Az.*, f. 110; *F.K.*, f. 117a; *T.H.*, III, pp. 212, 232; *T.K*, pp. 146, 171.

8. *F.K.*, f. 117a; *T.H.*, III, p. 232; *T.K.*, p. 171.

9. *F.K.*, f. 118a-b.

and initiated him into the Kubravīya order.[1] Although Shai*kh* Ḥusain used to entrust the newly enrolled disciples to the care of his kh*alīfas*, he took Shai*kh* Ya'qūb under his own control.[2] After a short time his preceptor ordered him to return to his native land.[3] Before long Ṣarfī again left Kashmīr for Samarqand to see his spiritual master once more. On his arrival there, he learned that Shai*kh* Ḥusain had gone on pilgrimage and Ṣarfī too left for Mecca.[4] It is not known whether he met Shai*kh* Ḥusain or not, but he joined the seminary of Ibn Ḥajar[5] (d. 974/1567), where he sharpened his knowledge of the Qur'ānic commentary and *ḥadīs*.[6]

After some time Shai*kh* Ya'qūb returned to Kashmīr. His studies in the seminary of Ibn Ḥajar earned recognition for him as a great scholar, not only in Kashmīr but also in India.[7] Among his Indian friends was the celebrated Shai*kh* Salīm Chistī (d. 979/1571), who himself had travelled extensively and had performed the pilgrimage several times.[8]

Shai*kh* Ya'qūb seems to have visited Humāyūn (1530-39 and 1555-56) either in Kābul or in the Panjāb, and to have

1. Ṣarfī, *Risāla-i-Ẕikrīya*, f. 15a-b; *T.Az.*, p. 110; *F.K.*, f. 118b; *T.H.*, III, p. 233; *T.K.*, p. 171.
2. *T.Az.*, pp. 110-1; *F.K.*, f. 118b; *T.H.*, III, p. 233; *T.K.*, p. 171.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Aḥmad bin Muḥammad bin 'Alī bin Ḥajar Shihābu'd-Dīn, a famous Shāfi'ī theologian, was born towards the end of 909/1504, at Mahallat, in Egypt. When he was only twenty years old he began to issue *fatwa's* and to teach. After visiting Mecca twice, he settled down there permanently on his third visit in 944/1537-8. Among his works the most famous is his commentary on *Minhāj Tal-alibān* of āl-Nawawī, *Tuḥfat al-Muḥtāj li-Sharḥ al-Minhāj*, which became the text book for the jurists of Shāfi'ī school—*Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam*, p. 147.
6. *Muntakhabu'l-Tawārīkh*, III, p. 142; *A.Ab.*, f. 239a; *T.Az.*, p. 111; *T.K.*, p. 171.
1. Cf. *Muntakhabu'l-Tawārīkh*, III, p. 142.
2. Cf. *Muntakhabu'l-Tawārīkh*, III, p. 11.

been admitted among courtiers.[1] However, Badāūnī, who says that both Humāyūn and Akbar (1556-1605) held Sarfī in great esteem, does not mention any of his activities at the Mug*h*al court, before 980/1572. He mentions him for the first time in connection with the account of the religious discussions in the *'Ibādāt*-Khā*nā*, in 980/1572.[2] There he is said to have argued, on the basis of the *Tamhīdāt* of 'Ainu'l-Quzāt Hamadānī,[3] that the Prophet Muḥammad is the personification of the title *al-hādī* (the guide) and that Iblīs (the devil) is the personification of *al-muzill* (the tempter) and both titles, in the world, stand for the Divine illumination and both personifications are therefore essential.[4]

Abū'l-Fazl refers to Shai*kh* Ya'qūb Ṣarfī frequently in connection with Mug*h*al conquest of Kashmīr, which, according to some later medieval Kashmīri sources,[5] was initiated by Ṣarfī because of the persecution of Sunnīs by Sul*t*ān Ya'qūb. We consider this question, which relates rather to political than to religious history in an appendix.[6]

However, there is no doubt that Shai*kh* Ya'qūb remained attached to Akbar's court for many years, where he enjoyed

1. Cf. Ibid., f. 142. Badāūnī does not say when and where Sarfī met Humāyūn. Since Ṣarfī would only eighteen years old by the end of Humāyūn's first reign, and would not even have completed his preliminary education, it is fair to assume that the two would have met some time between 1555 and 1556.
2. *Muntakhabu'l-Tawārīkh*, I, p. 259
3. Abū'l-Fazail 'Abdu'llāh bin Muḥammad al-Miyānjī, known as 'Ainu'l Quzāt of Hamadān, was a student of Shai*kh* Aḥmad *Gh*azālī (d. 517/1123-4) His career was very similar to those of Ḥallāj and Suhrawardī Maqtūl, since he too met a tragic death in 533/1138-9, under the orders of Sul*t*ān Sanjar's *wazīr* Qiwāmu'd Dīn Abū'l Qāsim Darguzīnī. Among his works the best known is *Tamhīdāt* (cf. *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Library of India Offiice*, I, ff. 930-1) which has recently been published in the collection of the complete works of 'Ainu'l-Quzāt, *Aḥwāl wa Asār-i-'Ainu'l-Quzāt*, Tehrān (1338 Iranian era).
4. *Muntakhabu'l-Tawārīkh*, I, p. 259. Cf. *Tam hīdat*, ff. 186, 123ff.
5. *T.Az.*, p. 99; *T.H.*, II, p. 271.
6. See infra, appendix B.

the company of eminent scholars such as Faiẓī and Badāūnī. Himself a distinguished commentator, he paid glowing tribute to Faiẓī's commentary on the Qur'ān, entitled *Sawāti'u'l-Ilhām.*[1] About 1594,[2] Shai*kh* Ya'qūb left Lahore for Kashmīr and wrote a letter to Badāūnī, in which he recalled his association with him and Faiẓī. The letter shows not only Sarfī's intimate friendship with Akbar's courtiers, but also his attachment to the Mu*gh*al court.

He writes :

> As to the suppliant letters which from time to time I send to you, although owing to their not being worthy of an answer I do not trouble your wonder-describing pen to write one, nevertheless the pen of sincere friendship cannot be restrained from running on in (its desire of) setting forth my submission to you. I hope that whenever you sit in the Nawwāb Faẓil Fayyāẓī's apartment of fragrant grass, on the floor with its matting coller than the breezes of Kashmīr, in the midday heat of summer, drinking the water which, although warm, has been cooled with ice, and listening to sublime talk and witty conversation (of Faiẓī), you will think of me, the captive of the hardships of disappointments.[3]

It seems that Shai*kh* Ya'qūb did not visit the imperial court again and died on 8 Ẕīqā'd, 1003/25 July, 1595.[4] Badāūnī paid him warm tribute by recording the date of his death in the following chronogram: "He was the Shai*kh* of the nations" (*Shai*kh*-i-umam būd*).[5] His tomb at Zainakadal, in Srīnagar, is famous by the name of "Ishān-Ṣāḥib" and is visited by many Kashmīrī Muslims.

1. *Muntakhabu'l-Tawārīkh*, p. I, 393.
2. Cf. Ibid., III, p, 143.
3. *Muntakhabu'l-Tawārīkh*, Eng. Tr., Haig, III, p. 203.
4. *Muntakhabu'l-Tawārīkh*, III, p. 148. Some Kashmīrī sources give his date of death as 12 *Ẕīqa'd*, 1003/19 July, 1595 (*A.Ab.*, f. 139a; *F.K.*, f. 121b; *T.H.*, III, p. 237; *T.K.*, p. 172). But Badāūnī being contemporary is more reliable.
5. *Muntakhabu'l-Tawārīkh*, III, p. 148.

On Shai*kh* Ya'qūb's works the following survive to this day.[1]

1. Kh*amsa*. This is a series of five *masnawīs* written in imitation of Nizāmī (d. 599/1203 or 605/1209). The five *masnawīs* of Ṣarfī are :
   (a) *Maghazu'l-Nabī*,
   (b) *Maslaku'l-Akhyār*,
   (c) *Maqāmāt-i-Murshid*,
   (d) *Wāmiq-'Azra*, and
   (e) *Lailā-Majnūn*.
2. *Sharḥ-i-Bukhārī*, a Persian commentary in prose on the *Ṣaḥīḥ-i-Bukhārī* of Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl Bu*kh*ārī (194-256/809-869).
3. *Manāsiku'l-Ḥajj*, in Arabic prose and explains the rules and regulations of the pilgrimage.
4. *Risāla-i-Zikrīya*. Most of this work is devoted to the importance of the *zikr* and to the legality of *zikr-i-jahr*.
5. *Dīwān*, a collection of gh*azals* and *rubā'yāt*.

Towards the end of his life, Badāūnī says, Shai*kh* Ya'qūb had commenced to write an extensive commentary on the Qur'ān.[2] Badāūnī, who seems to have seen some portions of this Commentary, regarded it as a remarkable contribution to scholarship.[3] The writings of Shai*kh* Ya'qūb, both prose and poetry, exhibit the very deep impact of the works af 'Ainu'l-Quzāt and Ibn 'Arabī, whose works, according to Abū'l-Fazl, he knew very well.[4]

In his *Risāla-i-Zikriya*, he says that God is light and those who are not able to perceive Him are like bats. The bats see nothing in the sunshine only because of their own deficiency, and the sun cannot be blamed for it. The beauty

1. The first four are in the library of the Oriental Research Department, Srīnagar, but in a very poor condition. The fifth, *Dīwān*, has been published at Srīnagar.
2. *Muntakhabu'l-Tawārīkh*, III, p. 142.
3. Ibid.
4. *A.A.*, I, p. 175.

and perfection of the Divine light, he continues, are reflected in the heart of the seeker, provided it is free from the rust of worldly desires and lust.[1] He asserts that the seeker should not neglect his real aim for a moment because it is the principle remedy to get rid of worldly desires and lusts.[2] A concentration upon the real object (Allāh) can be achieved through *zikr*. When the seeker begins to find interest in *zikr*, he becomes absorbed in it and separation from it causes great hardship and distress to him. *Zikr* removes all distractions and impediments, which lead men to turn to objects other than God.[3]

The details of his *zikr* are mainly drawn from the writings of Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī,[4] and some other Sūfīs including 'Alā'u'd-Daula Simnānī[5] and *Kh*wāja 'Ubaidu'llāh Aḥrār[6] (806-895/1464-1491) the celebrated Naqshbandī saint. He also quotes the *Fusūs al-Ḥikam* of Ibn 'Arabī[7] and finds that *zikr*, performed silently as well as loudly, essential for a true spiritual life; each type is applicable to different circumstances.[8] What he seeks to emphasize is the fact that the reciter of *zikr* should forget his own self; and all differences between him and the Remembered (Allāh) should disappear.[9] Thus he finds *murāqaba* or meditation too of great help for the Ṣūfīs and recommends it strongly on the basis of the writings of Qushairī and 'Aṭṭār.[10]

Defining lawful (*ḥalāl*) food, Sarfī says, that the Ṣūfīs, eminent *qāzīs* and *'ālims* do not approve of eating meals in the house of government officers or grandees of state.[11] This seems

1. *Risāla-i-Zikrīya*, ff. 2b-3b.
2. Ibid., f. 6b.
3. Ibid., f. 8b.
4. Cf. ibid., f. 9a.
5. Cf. ibid., f. 27b.
6. Cf. ibid., f. 9a.
7. Cf. ibid., f. 27a-b.
8. Ibid., f. 32a.
9. Ibid., f. 32a-b.
10. Ibid., f. 34b.
11. Ibid., f. 13a.

to be only a theoretical recommendation, for we know that Shai*kh* Ya'qūb himself was very closely associated with Akbar's court and friendly with grandees such as Faiẓī, whom the orthodox regarded as enemies of Islam).

There is not much originality in his poetry, and his friend Badāūnī, offering an apology, says : "Poetry does not become the learned".[1] However, he tries to copy Jāmī and Faiẓī very closely and indeed he makes no secret of his debt to the former.[2] But many of his *gh*azals closely resemble those of Faiẓī.[3]

Shai*kh* Ya'qūb uses the favourite symbol of the idol[4] and idol worship[5] in the sense of the realization of the Unity, which according to Ibn 'Arabī already exists, between the Divine Being and His creatures. Similarly he refers to wine,[6] the cup bearer,[7] and the wine drinker,[8] to express the Sūfī symbols designed to inculcate Divine love in the heart of the seeker. The mole,[9] the comely face[10] and the cheek,[11] are frequently mentioned in his poetry ; these are the traditional symbols which exemplify the relationship between the Divine beauty and Its seeker.

Shai*kh* Ya'qūb's poetry is dominated by mystical love. He is proud of calling himself a *kāfir* of *'ishq* (Divine love) and

1. *Muntakhabu'l-Tawārīkh*, III, p. 142.
2. Cf. *Dīwān*, p. 4 (line 11).
3. Cf. Ṣarfī, *Dīwān*, pp. 117-8, 114-5, 117 (line 14), 316-7, 179 (line 7); Faizī, *Kulliyāt-i-Faizī*, pp. 332 (poem, 336), 284 (poem, 234), 296 (line 3), 15-6, 545 (line 5), respectively.
4. Cf. *Dīwān*, pp. 132 (line 121), 75 (line 9), 8 (lines 13, 20), 174 (line 11), and 216 (line 20).
5. Cf. *Dīwān*, pp. 2 (line 3), 9 (line 9), 213 (line 21).
6. Cf. ibid., pp. 50 (line 11), 242 (line 19), 251 (line 14), 276 (lines, 14, 20).
7. Cf. *Dīwān*, pp. 5 (line 7), 251 (line 14), 276 (lines 14, 20).
8. Cf. ibid., pp. 4 (line 14), 6 (line 9), 276 (line 19).
9. Ibid., p. 63 (line 1).
10. Ibid., pp. 3 (line 4), 159 (line 5).
11. Ibid., pp. 242 (line 20), 243 (line 1), 247 (line 6), 232 (line 8).

yearns to burn himself in the fire of love.[1] He challenges the *nāṣiḥ* (adviser), who finds fault with the love of idols, to tell him if anything else is more meritorious in the world than the fault of loving idols.[2] Again he asserts that his faith is love of idols and his way of life is drinking and lunacy.[3]

The Verses of Ṣarfī also show that he was an ardent follower of *Waḥdatu'-wujūd* and he describes it boldly in lines such as :

"O, Ṣarfī ! What benefit are you going to
gain from the pilgrimage,
If Ka'ba, temple and tavern are not
identical with you".[4]

"O, Ṣarfī ! as on every side a ray has
fallen from His face to light the night,
Impossible it is for you to say that Somnāth
has not the Ka'ba's light."[5]

"I see that comely face manifest in
whatever I regard,
Though I look at a hundred thousand
mirrors in all that One face is manifest."[6]

1. Ibid., pp. 77 (line 7), 92 (line 20), 103 (line 1), 133 (line 9).
2. Ibid., p. 77 (line 17). See also p. 75 (line 6).
3. Ibid., pp. 28 (line 1), 69 (line 18).
4. *Dīwān*, p. 250 (line 5).
5. Ibid., p. 2 (line 2).
6. Ibid., p. 159 (line 5).

CHAPTER V

THE NAQSHBANDĪ AND QĀDIRĪ ORDERS

The two other Ṣūfī orders, besides the Suhrawardī and Kubravī, which entered Kashmīr during the period under review, were the Naqshbandī and the Qādirī orders.

Naqshbandī Order

The Naqshbandī order is one of the eldest mystic orders and was originally started in the land of the Turks beyond the Amīl Daryā. It was popularised mainly by *Kh*wāja Bahāu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Naqshband (717-791/1317-1389).[1]

In Kashmīr it was introduced by Saiyid Hilāl, who arrived there in the reign of Sul*t*ān Sikander (1389-1413).[2] The country of Saiyid Hilāl's origin is not known ; he is said to have been a direct disciple of *Kh*wāja Baḥāu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Naqshband.[3] He lived a quiet life and died on

1. For his complete biography see *N.U.*, pp. 244ff.
2. *T.Az.*, p. 54; *F.K.*, f. 76a; *F.Q.*, f. 200b.
3. *T.Az.*, p. 54; *F.K.*, f. 76a; p. 29.

Qādirī and Ḥasan at one place say that after coming at Kashmīr he received initiation into the Kubravīya order from Saiyid Muḥammad Madanī (*F.Q.*, f. 200b; *T H.*, III, p. 40), but at another place they mention him as a Naqshbandī saint (*F Q.*, f. 192a; *T.H.*, III, p. 31). *Gh*ulām Sarwar says that Saiyid Hilāl received initiation into the Kubravīya order from Mīr Muḥammad Hamadānī (Kh*azīnatu'l-Aṣfīyā*, II, p. 322), but he contradicts his own statement when he says that Saiyid Hilāl arrived in Kashmīr during the reign of Sul*t*ān Zainu'l-'Ābidīn (1420-1470), whereas the Mīr left Kashmīr in the reign of Sul*t*ān Sikandar (1389-1413).

14 Rabī'u'l-Auwal, 861/9 February 1457,[1] at the village of Asham, north of Kashmīr, where he had settled down.[2]

Saiyid Hilāl left only one disciple, named Mīr Saiyid Amīn, popularly known in Kashmīr as "Wūsī-Ṣāḥib", the name derived from his *nome de plume* "Waisī".[3] He hailed from the celebrated Baihaqī family, and was the second son of Saiyid Ḥusain Baihaqī or Man*t*iqī.[4] Saiyid Amīn had received his early education from Ḥājī Ibrāhīm Adham.[5] When Saiyid Hilāl arrived in Kashmīr, Saiyid Amīn became his disciple and received initiation into the Naqshbandī order.[6]

As already pointed out, Saiyid Amīn was adopted as a son by Baihaqī Begum, the wife of Sul*t*ān Zainu'l-'Ābidīn[7];

1. *T.H.*, III, p. 40.

   *Gh*ulām Sarwar, on the authority of A'zamī, says that Saiyid Hilāl died in 862/1457-8 (K*hazīnātu'l-Asfiyā*, II, p. 322), but the copy of A'zamī's work available to us does not record Saiyid Hilāl's date of death.

2. *T.Az.*, p. 54; *F.K*, f. 76a; *F.Q.*, f. 192a; *T.H.* III, p. 40.

3. Wahhāb and Qādirī (*F.K.*, f. 75b; *F Q.*, f. 189b), wrongly say that he had no spiritual guide and was therefore called "Uwaisī" reference being to Uwais Qaranī who is said to have lived during the lifetime of the Prophet, but never met him. Uwais Qaranī is supposed to have had no spiritual guide and was believed to receive direct spiritual guidance supernaturally from the Prophet. Thus those of the Ṣūfīs, who did not have any guide called themselves Uwaisī. Elsewhere both Wahhāb and Qādirī say that Saiyid Amīn was a pupil of Ḥājī Ibrāhīm Adham and received initiation into Sufism by Saiyid Ni'ma-tu'llāh (*F.K.*, f. 76a; *F.Q.*, f. 192a). In fact "Waisī" was his *nom de plume* (see infra, p. 170) which Wahhāb and Qādirī have wrongly recorded as "Uwaisī".

4. *A.Ab*, f. 101a; *K.S*, f. 57b; *T.Az.*, p. 55; *F.K.*, f. 76a; *F.Q.*, f. 189b; *T.H.*, III. p. 34; *T.K.*, p. 29.

5. Ibid., f. 101a; ibid., f. 57b; ibid., p. 58; ibid., f. 76a; ibid., f. 192a; ibid., p. 34; ibid., p. 29.

6. Ibid., f. 101a; ibid., f 57b; ibid., p. 58; ibid, f. 76a; ibid., ff. 189b, 192a; ibid., III, p. 34; ibid., p. 29.

7. See supra, p. 149.

but the life of affluence did not appear to him. Like his spiritual master, he led a life of retirement at Asham. When Saiyid Hilāl died, he moved to Srīnagar, where he confined himself to a room near Koh-i-Marān.[1]

The following verses of Saiyid Amīn, recorded in some sources, show that he was a broad minded Ṣūfī, above all religious prejudices.[2] He says :

"Do not scorn infidelity,
To those who have found out truth,
it is not different from faith".[3]

Again he says :

"To an *'ārif* the differences between the
mosque and temple are meaningless.
Men endowed with spiritual eminence,
find both good and evil identical."[4]

About the mystical union he says :

"I want *wiṣāl,* I do not want either this
world or the other,
I worship God, I do not worship houses or walls".[5]

He advises those who have attained *unio mystica* to forget everything and not to bother themselves even with separation or union.

"To Your lovers separation and unity are identical.
Neither does the union make them happy
nor does the separation lead them to despair."[6]

The only form of worship which he advocated was the mystical love of God.

1. *A.Ab.*, ff. 101b-102a; *K.S.*, f. 58a; *T.Az.*, pp. 55, 58; *F.K.*, f. 76a; *F.Q.*, f. 192a; *T.H.*, III, pp. 34, 37; *T.K.*, p. 29.
2. Although it is not necessary that the poetical expressions of a person should conform with his beliefs but in this case these certainly seem to represent the author's religious beliefs. See, for instance, the verses on p. 170, and the anecdote quoted on pp. 170-1.
3. Cited in *F.K.*, f. 87b.
4. Cited in ibid., f. 78b; *F.Q.*, f. 191b; *T.K.*, p. 29.
5. Ibid. He refers to the worship of the Ka'ba either directly or in the form of the *qibla* in the mosque.
6. Ibid.

"If you ask Waisī about religion or sect,
He leads the worshippers of God with the religion of love".[1]

Saiyid Amīn most eloquently expresses his faith in the doctrine of *waḥdatu'l-wujūd*, in the following lines :

"The world and the men of the world are endowed
with the essence of the Eternal,
If you look deeply (you) will find everything
in the human being."[2]

Further he says :

"The entire universe is with me,
My abode is beyond (the mystical state of) *lāmakān*.
O *'ālim* ! My body is (itself a) universe,
Know ! The soul of universe is my soul".[3]

It is said that when people used to come to see him, his attendant would inform them of his presence in two forms : "*Mīr ba* kh*udā ast*" (The Mīr is with God), or '*Mīr ba* kh*udā wa ba* kh*wud ast*" (The Mīr is with God and with himself). The first state was intended to indicate that he was seized with mystical ecstasy. His visitors then went away without seeing him. The second statement meant that although he was in a state of ecstasy, he was in his senses, and people could visit him.[4]

Although Saiyid Amīn had kept away from the royal court and its politics, he became the victim of a political intrigue. As we have already seen,[5] some disgruntled Kashmīrī nobles, who had become alienated from the Baihaqī Saiyids because of their arrogance, made a surprise attack on them on 30 Ẕiqā'd 889/8 December 1484, and killed fifteen members of the family. Among these was the inoffensive Saiyid Amīn.[6]

1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. *F.Q.*, f. 190a; *T.H.*, III, pp. 34-5.
4. *T.Az.*, p. 58; *T.H.*, III, p. 37; *T.K.*, pp. 28-9.
5. See supra p. 147.
6. *B.S.*, ff. 63b-66b; *A.Ab.*, ff. 102b-103a; *K.S.*, f. 57b; *T.Az.*, p. 58; *F.K.*, f. 76b; *F.Q.*, f. 194a; *T.H.*, III, p. 38; *T.K.*, pp. 29, 39.

He was later buried at 'Āiīkadal,[1] on the right bank of the river Jehlum; in Srīnagar, where his tomb exists to this day.

Saiyid Amīn either did not enrol disciples or left on follower worthy of mention. Thus after his death the Naqshbandī order remained unknown in Kashmīr for more than century. It was revived by *Khwāja Khā*wand Maḥmūd (d.11 Sha'bān, 1052/4 November 1642), who arrived there at the end of the sixteenth century.[2] The *Khwā*ja was the son of *Khwā*ja Mīr Saiyid Sharīf, who claimed descent from *Khwā*ja 'Alā'u'd-Dīn 'A*tt*ār (d. Rajab 802/March 1400), a distinguished disciple of *Kkwā*ja Bahā'ud-Dīn Naqshband.[3]

*Khwā*ja *Khā*wand was initiated in the order by *Khwā*ja Abū Isḥāq Safedkī, but he claimed to have received inspiration direct from Bahā'u'd-Dīn Naqshband.[4] Before entering Kashmīr from Kābul, *Khwā*ja *Khā*wand had journeyed to many countries. The *Khwā*ja did not stay there for long and soon left for Agra[5]. However, in the seventeenth century, when *Khwā*ja *Khā*wand made several further visits to Kashmīr, the Naqshbandī order received a great impetus there.[6]

The Qādirī Order

The Qādirī order was originally founded by a celebrated saint of Bag*h*dād named Shai*kh* 'Abdu'l-Qādir Jīlānī (471-561/ 1078-1165).[7] He was a prolific writer, and his works[8] became the main source of Qādirī doctrines and practices. His disci-

1. *A.Ab.*, f. 103a; *K.S.*, f. 57b; *F.K.*, f. 76b; *T.H.*, III, p. 38.
2. He was at Wakhsh in 994/1585-86 and after staying there for some years he went to Kābul and then to Kashmīr; Muḥammad Mu'īnu'd-Dīn, *Mirāt-i-Taiba*, pp. 84-6, 125-6, cited by Rizvi, *Muslim Revivalist Movement in Northern India*, p. 183.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., pp. 183-5.
7. For his full biography, see *N.U.*, p. 340.
8. Among his works the best known are *Al-Ghunya li Tālib Tarīq Ḥal-aq*, *Al Fatḥ al-Rabbānī* and *Futūḥ al-Ghā'ib*; cf. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, I, pp. 69-70.

ples, who even during his lifetime had become very large in number, popularised his teachings as far as Syria, Egypt and Yemen. Their followers in subsequent generations disseminated them to other corners of the Islamic world.[1]

The order, according to available information, was first introduced in Kashmīr some time in the second half of the sixteenth century, by Saiyid Ni'matu'llāh Shāh Qādirī.[2] He claimed to be the direct descendant of Shai*kh* 'Abdu'l-Qādir Jīlānī.[3] Before coming to Kashmīr, he had lived somewhere in India, most probably in the Panjāb, where he was a disciple of one Shai*kh* Muḥammad Darwesh Qādirī.[4] According to Muḥammad Ḥusain Qādirī, the author of *Futūḥāt-i-Qādirīya*, Saiyid Ni'matu'llāh was a prolific writer,[5] but he does not mention the title of a single treatise written by the Saiyid. All his biographers are unanimous in saying that he avoided the company of the ruling classes and spent most of his time in *samā'*.[6]

Saiyid Ni'matu'llāh did not stay long in Kāshmīr and soon left for India.[7] Among his disciples in Kashmīr is mentioned Shai*kh* Mīrak Mīr. He was the son of one Saiyid Shamsu'd-Dīn Andrābī, whose ancestors had migrated to Kashmīr from Andrāb,[8] in the reign of Sul*t*ān Sikandar.[9] While Shai*kh* Mīrak was young, his father died.[10] His relatives,[11] who held important posts under the Sul*t*āns advised him

1. Ibid., I, p. 69.
2. *F.Q.*, f. 206a; *T.H.*, III, p. 61; *T.K.*, p. 51.
According to Ḥasan and Miskīn, he arrived there during the rule of the Chaks (1261-1586); *T.H.*, III, p. 62; *T.K.*, p. 51.
3. Ibid.
4. *F.Q.*, f. 206a; *T.H.*, III, pp. 61-2; *T.K.*, p. 51.
5. *F.Q.*, f. 206a.
6. Ibid., f. 206a; *T.H.*, III, p. 62; *T.K.*, p. 51.
7. Ibid.
8. The city of Andrāb is on the confines of *Kh*urāsān towards India.
9. *Khākī*, *Rishī-Nāmā*, f. 42a; *A.Ab.*, f. 192a; *F.Q.*, f. 208b.
10. Ibid., f. 40b; ibid., f. 190a; ibid., f, 207b; *T.K.*, p. 52.
11. His mother came from the powerful Baihaqī family; *Rishī-Nāmā*, f. 42a; *A.Ab.*, f. 192a; *F.Q.*, f. 208a.

to take up government service, but, drawn to a life of piety from childhood as he was, he declined.[1] He spent most of his time in meditation at a *khānqāh* in Srīnagar, known as *Khānqāh-i-Andrābī*,[2] which seems to have been built by one of his ancestors. For forty years, it is said, he did not eat meat and married at a very late age, only after the Prophet appeared to him in a dream and advised him to do so.[3]

At first he began to practise Sufism independently, claiming to have drawn inspiration direct from the Prophet.[4] When Saiyid Ni'matu'llāh arrived in Kashmīr, he became his disciple and received initiation in the Qādirī order.[5] Shai*kh* Mīrak is reported to have claimed that he had attained a high spiritual stage and that many people had been benefited by him. He died on 5 Ṣafar, 990/1 March 1582, and was buried at Mallāratta in Srīnagar.[6]

Another Qādirī saint of eminence, who came to Kashmīr in 992/1581 from somewhere in India,[7] was Saiyid Ismā'īl Shāmī.[8] He too traced his descent from Shai*kh* 'Abdu'l-Qādir Jīlānī.[9] He had received his early education from his father, Saiyid Sulaimān, and was initiated into the Qādirī order by one Saiyid Muḥammad Qāsim.[10]

1. Ibid., ff. 40b-41a; ibid., f. 190a-b; ibid., f. 208a.
2. Ibid.
3. *Rishī-Nāmā.*, ff. 41a-b, 42a; *A.Ab.*, f. 191a; *T.Az.*, p. 106; *F.Q.*, f. 208a; *T.H.*, III, pp. 62-3; *T.K.*, p. 53.
4. *Rishi-Nāmā.*, ff. 40b, 41b; *A.Ab.*, ff. 190b-191a; *T.Az.*, p. 106; *F.Q.*, ff. 207b-208a; *T.H.*, III, p. 62; *T.K.*, p. 52.
5. Ibid.
6. *A.Ab.*, f. 190a; *F.Q.*, f. 208b; *T.H*, III, p. 63; *T.K.*, p. 52.
7. *A.Ab.*, f. 189a; *T.Az.*, p. 106; *F.Q.*, f. 205b; *T.H.*, III, p. 54. Miskīn wrongly gives the date of his arrival as 996/1587 (*T.K.*, p. 50), because Bābā Dāwud, who is said to have received Saiyid Ismā'īl in Kashmīr, was dead by this time.
8. From his title it seems that his ancestors had migrated from Syria.
9. *A.Ab.*, f. 190a; *F.Q.*, f. 208b; *T.H.*, III, p. 63; *T.K.*, p. 50.
10. *A.Ab.*, f. 190a; *T.Az.*, p. 106; *F.Q.*, f. 205a. Miskīn gives his father's name as Saiyid Muḥammad Qāsim (*T.K.*, p. 50), who according to other sources was his preceptor.

Saiyid Ismā'īl was warmly received in Kashmīr by some eminent saints of that country including Bābā Dāwud *Khākī*, with whom he developed a close friendship.[1] Saiyid Ismā'īl appears to have been a saint of great repute. His devotional zeal and piety are praised in all the sources.[2] Bābā Dāwud *Khākī*, eulogises his laudable character, simplicity and spiritual achievements in a poem which he composed in the Saiyid's honour.[3] However, he also did not stay long in Kashmīr and returned to India;[4] but during his brief stay there, he firmly laid the foundation of the Qādirī order, through his disciple Mīr Nāzuk Niyāzī.

Mīr Nāzuk was at first the disciple of Bābā Dāwud *Khākī* and had received initiation in the Suhrawardī order.[5] When Saiyid Ismā'īl came to Kashmīr, Bābā Dāwud introduced the Mīr to him.[6] Finding Mīr Nāzuk full of promise, Ṣaiyid Ismā'īl initiated him into the Qādirī order and gave him the Kh*irqa* and *ijāzat-nāmā* to enrol disciples in the order.[7]

Mīr Nāzuk, unlike Saiyid Ni'matu'llāh, did not approve of the practice of *samā'*. It is not known whether Saiyid Ismā'īl practised *samā'* at all, but Bābā Dāwud, the Mīr's earlier preceptor, certainly approved of it.[8] Mīr Nāzuk is said to have even refused to give an interview to a *darwesh* who practised *samā'*.[9] He breathed his last on 9 *Z*ū'l-Ḥijja, 1022/20 January 1614,[10] and was buried at Qāzīkadal, in Srīnagar.[11]

1. *A.Ab.*, f. 188a; *T.Az.*, p. 106; *F.Q.*, f. 205b; *T.H.*, III, p. 54; *T.K.*, p. 50.
2. Cf. *A.Ab.*, f. 188a; *T.Az.*, p. 106; *F.Q.*, f. 205a-b; *T.H.*, III, p. 54; *T.K.*, p. 50.
3. Cited in *A.Ab.*, ff. 188a-189b; *F.Q.*, f. 205b; *T.K.*, p. 50.
4. Ibid.
5. *T.Az.*, pp. 106, 126; *F.Q.*, f. 206b; *T.H.*, III, p. 248; *T.K.*, p. 179.
6. Ibid., pp. 126-7; ibid., f. 206b; ibid., p. 248; ibid., p. 179.
7. Ibid.
8. See supra, Ch. II, p. 32.
9. *T.Az.*, p. 127; *F.Q.*, ff. 206b-207a; *T.H.*, III, p. 248.
10. Ibid., p. 127; ibid., f. 207b; ibid., p. 249; *T.K.*, p. 180.
11. *T.H.*, III, p. 249; *T.K.*, p. 180.

The charge of Mīr Nāzuk's *khānqāh* at *Kh*ānyār, in Srīnagar, was taken up by his eldest son, Mīr Yūsuf.[1] He had received his education and initiation in the Qādirī order from his father.[2] Mīr Yūsuf died of plague at an early age in 1027/1617.[3] It was left to the lot of Mīr Muḥammad 'Alī (d. 17 Ẕu'l-Ḥijja, 1070/24 August 1660), the third son of Mīr Nāzuk, to popularise the Qādirī order in Kashmīr.[4]

1. Ibid., p. 275; ibid., p. 18[illegible].
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Cf. ibid.

It is said that Mīr Aḥmad (d. 1041/1631), the second son of Mīr Nāzuk, declined the offer to succeed his brother, as he was pursuing exoteric knowledge and lived a life of ease: cf. ibid.

CHAPTER VI

THE RISHĪ ORDER—A

Etymology of the word rishī

The Ṣūfī orders discussed in the preceding chapters entered Kashmīr from Persia, Central Asia, and India. However, in the beginning of the fifteenth century there arose in the Valley an indigenous Ṣūfī order, known as the Rishī[1] order. It developed amidst the traditions of Buddhist renunciation and Hindu asceticism. In fact the very term *rishī* is derived from Sanskrit. Some medieval Muslim scholars of Kashmīr[2] have, indeed, tried to Islamize it and have preferred to see its derivation in the Persian word *raish* or *rīsh*, which means : "The feathers of a bird, plumage ; a wide garment ; abundance of means of life ; the beard".[3]

Thus Bābā Dāwud Mishkātī asserts that *rishī* was derived from the Persian word *raish* or *rīsh* meaning the feathers or wings of a bird. A bird, he writes, whose feathers are removed has no control over its own movements and depends entirely on the wind. To whatever direction the wind blows, the bird is carried by it. So it is with a Rishī ; he is alienated from the world and lives alone buffeted by fate.[4]

'Abdu'l-Wahhāb sees *rishī* as meaning "warmth" (*ḥarārat*), and this, he writes, can be applied to a Ṣūfī, for

1. We adopt this spelling in preference to the Sanskritic form (*ṛṣi, rishi*) since the Persian spellings with final long *ī* occurs thought our sources.
2. *A.Ab.*, f. 54a; *F.K.*, f. 82a.
3. Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary*, pp. 602-3.
4. *A.Ab.*, f. 54a-b. While describing the origin of the moment, Mishkātī surprisingly says that the Rishī order was a Hindu ascetic order which existed in Kashmīr, in pre-Islamic times—Ibid.

by the warmth of his heart the Ṣūfī reaches his goal, attaining from a state of devotion the object of his desire.[1]

These and similar explanations seem fanciful and forced. In fact, like many other Sanskrit words, the word *rishī* was assimilated into medieval Kashmīrī. In the *Rig-Veda* it is used in the sense of a "singer of sacred hymns". Later it came to mean a legendary sage, "to whom port of the Vedic hymns was revealed." Later still it was applied more loosely to a "saint or sanctified sage."[2] In general usage among Hindus it signifies an ascetic or anchorite of high reputation for his sanctity. Kashmīrī Muslim scholars of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries such as A'zamī[3] and Ḥasan[4], do not endorse the definition given by their predecessors and accept the Sanskrit origin of the word.

The few sources available disclose very little that can be relied upon about the origin of the Rishī movement in Kashmīr. Bābā Nasīb relates a story of the existence of three Rishī brothers, *Kh*alāsman, Plāsman and Yāsman, in pre-Islamic times in Kashmir. But he appears to be telling at face value a Hindu mythological tale. *Kh*alāsman for example, is said to have lived sixteen hundred years, Plāsman twelve hundred and Yāsman eight hundred years.[5]

1. *F.K.*, f. 82b.
2. Monier Williams *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, pp. 226-27.
3. *T.Az.*, p. 87.
4. *T.H.*, III, p. 101.
5. Yāsman is said to have been inferior in piety and devotion to his two elder brothers, and so all his hair was grey. It is also said that once the ruler of the country went to see him, but Yāsman paid no attention to him. The ruler, displeased, decided to crush his pride. He sent a courtesan of matchless beauty to seduce him and she succeeded (*R.N.*, f. 136b. See also *A.Ab.*, ff. 53a-54a). Elsewhere (*R.N.*, ff. 157a-b, 158a), the same author attributes more or less the same story to Shai*kh* Nūru'd-Dīn Rishī. There lived a brahman, says Bābā Naṣīb, who was pious and chaste. Once the ruler of the time visited him but was shown disregard by the Brahman, and he felt slighted and sent a courtesan to seduce the Brahman. The Brahman fell a prey to her beauty. Later on the Muslims started to taunt the Hindus with their spiritual leader's lapse. The Hindus in retaliation requested same courtesan to

Bābā Dāwud Mishkātī states that the Hindu Rishīs were in existence in Kashmīr before Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn, who is generally acknowledged as the founder of the order, and that Nūru'd-Dīn renewed the ancient traditions of the Rishīs, though ignoring their monastic life and Brahmanic beliefs.[1] That is to say he took the Hindu ascetic traditions and Islamized them.

According to 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb, the originator and the founder of the Rishī order was the Prophet himself. He does not give any justification for his claim, except that the Prophet once said that one of the virtues of a faithful Muslim is that he fights his selfish desires.[2] But this is hardly satisfactory evidence, since it is potently a general statement.

From the sources now surviving, we can only say that the movement flourished from the first half of the fifteenth century and the Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn, commonly known in Kashmīr as Nand Resh, was responsible for its growth and popularity, aided by his four eminent disciples, Bāmn'd-Dīn, Zainu'd-Dīn, Latīfu'd-Dīn and Naṣru'd-Dīn.

The life of Shaikh Nuru'd-Dīn

The life of Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn Rishī, whose original name seems to have been Nand,[3] is shrouded in myths and

Continued f.n. 5.

go to Nūru'd-Dīn, the preceptor of the Muslims and repeat her conquest. She went and Nūru'd-Dīn asked her to go back, but she refused Nūru'd-Dīn was enraged at her presumption and with a glance, he deprived her of her looks and left her with the body of a ninety year old woman.

These legends have no basis and have been attributed by different authors to different saints. Bahā'u'd-Dīn Mattū, for instance, says that Sultān Sikandar sent the courtesan to Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn to test his spiritual power—cf. *R.Nm.*, f. 32a-b.

1. *A.Ab.*, f. 52a-b.
2. *F.K.*, ff. 82b-83a.
3. His elder brothers were given Kashmīrī names—Shesh and Kundar (*R.N.*, f. 129a; *F.K.*, f. 89b; *R.Nm.*, f. 10b). It is unlikely that their younger brother would have been given an Arabic name in the beginning. "Nanda" in Sanskrit is from "nand", which means delight,

legends. There is no general agreement among the sources about the date of his birth. However, many agree that he was born on 10 Ẓū'l-Ḥijja,[1] 779/9 April, 1378.[2]

It is said that the birth-place of Nūru'd-Dīn is Kaimuh,[3] where his father Salār Ganā'ī, belonging to the tribe of watchmen,[4] lived.[5] It is also said that when the Shai*kh* was born he would not take milk from his mother's breast. Three days after his birth, Lallā, the celebrated Shavite ascetic of Kashmīr, happened to come by and spoke to the newly born baby : "You were not ashamed of being born ; why are you ashamed to suck ?" Thereupon the baby immediately started taking milk and Lallā thereafter continued to visit the house

Continued f.n. 5.
happiness (cf. Monier Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 526), and in Kashmīri it means virtuous. The Prophet in a dream is said to have addressed him as Nand, and not Nūru'd-Dīn (the light of the faith)—*R.N.*, f. 131b; *F.K.*, f. 86b; *R.Nm.*, f. 19b; *T.K.*, p. 95.

1. *T.K.*, p. 92.
2. *R.N.*, f. 129a; *F.K.*, f. 86b; *R.Nm.*, f. 12a; *T.K.*, p. 92. Mishkātī and Ḥasan give the date of the Shai*kh*'s birth as 757/1356-57 (*A.Ab.*, f. 52b; *T.H.*, III, p. 125). But Mishkātī, from whom Ḥasan seems to have copied, gives contradictory statements, which make his date unreliable. He says that the Shai*kh* died at the age of sixty-three and at the same time he gives the date of the Shai*kh*'s death as 808/1405-1406 (*A.Ab.*, f. 68b). If we accept Mishkātī's date and the age he attributes to the Shai*kh* at his death, then the Shai*kh* was born in 745/1344-45.

   Anand Kaul, who wrote an article on the life of Shai*kh* Nūru'd-Dīn ("A life of Nand Rishī", *Indian Antiquary*, LVIII, 1929, p. 195), accepts the date of the Shai*kh*'s birth as 10 Ẓū'l-Ḥijja, 779.
3. Kaimuh, the ancient "Katīmuṣa", is thirty-two miles to the south of Srīnagar.
4. It is said that Salār Ganā'ī was from the *qabīla-i pāsbān*. It seems that watchmen, obviously a functional group, were identified as a tribe in an ethnic sense.
5. *R.N.*, f. 129a; *F.K.*, ff. 84b, 89b. Mattū says that Salār Ganā'ī was a descendant of the rulers of Kishtwār (*R.Nm.*, f. 10b). Ḥasan (*T.H.*, III, p. 117), gives the genealogical line of the Shai*kh* as follows : Wagrā Sanz, his son Dartpā Sanz, his son Zangā Sanz, his son Hanar Sanz, his son Graza Sanz, his son Salār Sanz, his sonNandā Sanz (Nūru'd-Dīn).

of the parents of Nūru'd-Dīn[1].

After the death of their father, the brothers of Nūru'd-Dīn, Shesh and Kundar, are reported to have tarned to a life of theft and robbery. When Nūru'd-Dīn grew older, they pressed him to share in their way of life, and Nūru'd-Dīn reluctantly agreed.[2] Nūru'd-Dīn is said to have hinted at this in the following verses attributed to him :

"A spring has been lost in the stream,
A saint has been lost among the thieves.
A deeply learned man has been lost in the house of fools,
A swan has been lost among the crows."[3]

However, the Shai*kh* proved an incompetent thief. His brothers, thinking that he might become a source of trouble, approached their mother and told her that he should leave them, as he was an ignorant fool.[4] Their mother sent for him

1. *R.Nm.*, f. 12b; *T.K.*, p. 92. Ḥasan suggests the Lallā put her own breasts into the baby's mouth—*T.H.*, III, p. 117.
2. *R.N.*, f. 136a; *A.Ab.*, ff. 55b-56a; *F.K.*, f. 84b; *R.Nm* , f. 12b; *T.H.*, III, p. 117; *T.K.*, p. 92.
3. *Nūr-Nāmā*, ed. Mūḥammad Amīn Kāmil, p. 172 (Poem, 249).
4. Many stories are told about the Shai*kh*'s life as a thief. One night, accompanied by his brothers, they reached a village where a big house stood. Thinking that they would get a rick haul, they told the Shai*kh* to rob it. The inmates happened to be awake, and suspecting it was a thief, they spoke to one another, lamenting that they were poor—so poor indeed as not to possess even a quilt to protect themselves from the cold. Nūru'd-Dīn overheard them and felt pity on their poverty; he flung his own blanket over them and came out empty-handed. His brothers asked him what he had secured and where his blanket was ? The Shai*kh* replied that he inmates of the house got up and tried to catch him, so he threw the blanket in their faces and ran away. (*R.N.*, f 137a-b; *A.Ab.*, f. 59a-b; *F.K.*, f. 86a; *R.Nm.*, ff. 14b-15a; *T.H.*, III, p. 118; *T.K.*, p. 93.)

On another occasion the three brothers went to steal in a village. His brothers told the Shai*kh* to break into a house and bring out whatever heavy object he might find. Nūru'd-Dīn found a box full of gold and silver, but he reflected that if he brought it out he would be committing a sin. He brought out a stone pestle instead and gave it to his brothers, telling them he could find nothing heavier in the house.

and said that if he considered stealing unlawful, he should take up some other means of earning his living. The Shai*kh* agreed and went with her to a weaver to become his apprentice.[1] But the very first day the weaver lost patience with him as he kept on asking questions about religion instead of attending to his work.[2] The weaver sent for Nūru'd-Dīn's mother. She

Continued f.n. 4.

His brothers were angry at his stupidity, not understanding that by heavy objects they meant precious metals, so they ironically asked him to bring out something light. He re-entered, and brought out a sieve and a winnowing fan, saying that there were no lighter things there. His brothers disappointed at his foolishness, afterwards stole a cow and handed her over to him, as they themselves were going to some other place to steal. Nūru'd-Dīn was driving the cow along when he heard a dog barking "*wow, wow*". In Kashmīrī *wow* means sow. He thought that the dog was reminding him of the fact that what he sowed here, he would reap hereafter and so he let the cow go loose—(*R.N.*, ff. 136a-37a; *A.Ab.*, ff. 58b-59a; *F.K.*, ff. 85b-86a; *R.Nm.*, ff. 13a-14a; *T.H.*, III, pp. 117-118; *T.K.*, pp. 92-93). The story seems to have been based on the following saying of Nūru'd-Dīn :

"The dog is barking in the compound,
O brothers ! give ear and listen (to what he says).
One who sows here (in this world) shall
reap there (in the next world).
The dog is crying (reminding), sow, sow, sow—"

Nūr-Nāmā, p. 95 (Poem, 104).

1. *R.N.*, f. 138a; *A.Ab.*, f. 60a; *F.K.*, f. 86a; *R.Nm.*, f. 15a; *T.H.*, III, p. 118; *T.K.*, p. 94.
2. Nūru'd-Dīn is said to have asked the weaver, why he was always alternately raising and lowering his feet. He replied that he was thus raising the warp in order to put in the woof. But, Nūra'd-Dīn replied that this movement had another meaning : "When you raise your right foot it is a hint that all human beings came from dust and shall return to dust." Nūru'd-Dīn next enquired : "Why have these threads been put together ? What is the piece of wood that is shot to and fro in the loom ? What are the threads attached to it ? And what is the board you are always pulling towards yourself ?" The weaver replied that they were warp shuttle, woof and press board respectively. Nūru'-d-Dīn replied : "No, the woof indicates that the world is an inn having two doors; by one we enter and by the other we leave. The shuttle is man, and the thread in its mouth is his daily bread, apportioned to him by fate; so long as it lasts he moves about in this world. The

came and enquired what was wrong with him and why he did not get on with his work. The Shai*kh* replied : "No work in this world is easy. The tools of the weaver reminded me that we all have to leave this world. So we should not set our hearts on worldly success. Our destiny is determined at our birth, we work in order to keep alive until the moment when that destiny must be fulfilled. If we do not worship, how shall we achieve freedom from the punishments of the grave ?"[1]

It seems that the stories were prepared to show Nūru'd-Dīn's piety and innocence. They were intended to serve as a background-setting for some of his verses. It is common to stories of saints all over the world, to present them as moved by impulses of virtue even before the light of conversion draws upon them.[2] The disciples of Kabīr and Nānak to reconstructed the framework of their biographies on the basis of their verses.

The legendary nature of the incidents of Shai*kh* Nūru'd-Dīn's life, described in the hagiological literature, may also be judged by the fact that the same literature attributes his conversion to different sources. According to Bābā Nasīb once the Prophet appeared to the Shai*kh* in a dream, addressed him by his Kashmīrī name Nand,[3] and bade him to do pious deeds and be worthy of his name. The vision drew the veil from the

Continued f.n. 2.
world. The board, when you pull it towards you to press home the woof, makes a sound like *dag, dag* ('beat, beat'), and it indicates that our desires are killing us.'' The weaver thought that his apprentice's mind was wandering (*R.N.*, f. 138a-139a; *A.Ab.*, f. 60a-b; *F.K.*, f. 86a-b). According to Mattū (*R.Nm.*, ff. 15b-16b), the weaver on hearing what the Shai*kh* had said, gave up the world.

We have similar conversations attributed to Gurū Nānak in the *Janam-sākhis* – cf. W.H. Mcleod, *Gurū Nānak and the Sikh Religion*, pp. 36, 52.

1. *R.N.*, f. 139b; *A.Ab.*, f. 60b; *F.K.*, f. 86b.
2. Cf. 'Attār, *Tazkiratu'l-Auliya'*, Eng. tr., A.J. Arberry (*Muslim Saints and Mystics*), pp. 53ff.
3. See supra, p. 182, n. 1.

eyes of Nūru'd-Dīn and he was increasingly drawn to the spiritual life.[1]

Bābā Dāwud Mishkātī[2] and 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb[3] say that while the Shai*kh* and his brothers were once trying to break into a house, Lallā, who happened to be there, cried to Nūru'd-Dīn: "What will you get from this house ? Go to a big house (i.e. God), you will get something there." On hearing this Nūru'd-Dīn, who was thirty years old at that time,[4] immediately left his brothers and dug out a cave at the village of Kaimuh. Here for many years[5] he performed his austere penances, withdrawing entirely from the life that surrounded him.[6]

Shai*kh* Nūru'd-Dīn was a great mystic, who had risen high above the courts, and the social and religious institutions

1. *R.N.*, ff. 132b-133a. See also *R.Nm.*, f. 19b; *T.K.*, p. 95.
2. *A.Ab.*, f. 56a.
3. *F.K.*, f. 84b.
4. *A.Ab.*, f. 52b; *F.K.*, f. 82b; *T.Az.*, p. 63. Naṣīb and Mattū say that the Shai*kh* entered the spiritual path at the age of thirty-two—*R.N.*, f. 132a; *R.Nm.*, f. 20a.
5. It is said that the Shai*kh* lived for twelve years in that cave (*R.N.*, ff. 132a-133a; *A.Ab.*, f, 62a; *F.K.*, f 86a; *R.Nm.*, f. 20b; *T.H.*. III, pp. 118-19; *T.K.*, p. 94). But this period should not be taken to mean twelve calender years. Many Ṣūfī such as Shai*kh* Muḥammad *Gh*au*s* Sha*tt*ārī (cf. *Muntakhabu'l-Tawārīkh*, III, p. 4), and some of the disciples of Nūru'd-Dīn himself (cf. infra, p. 218, 225) are said to have lived in caves for twelve years.
6. It is said that the Shai*kh*'s mother made repeated entreaties to her son to give up his solitary life and take care of his wife and children, but to no avail. One day she came to his cave and upbraided him for his negligence of filial duty, but failed in persuade him to change his ways. She tauntingly reminded him that she had fed him with her blood in the form of her milk, and had reared him up; and now he was proving ungrateful to her. The Shai*kh* commanded a nearby rock to give back to his mother all the milk he had from her. Soon milk began to flow from the rock. His mother was astonished, but happy a she thought that her son had reached such a high spiritual stage—*R.N.*, ff. 140b-141a; *A.Ab.*, f. 61a-b; *F.K.*, f. 86b; *R.Nm.*, f. 28b-29a; *T.H.*, III, p. 120; *T.K.*, p. 94.

of the time. His sayings, as we shall see in the following pages, reveal that his coversion to the spiritual life was not accidental, but out of conviction. But the question arises, whence did he draw inspiration ? Was he really influenced by the Sūfīs, who by his time had migrated to Kashmīr in large numbers ?

All the earlier sources generally agree that the preceptor of Nūru'd-Dīn is not known, describing him merely as "Uwaisī".[1] However, the later scholars such as A'ẓamī[2] and Wahhāb[3] assert that Nūru'd-Dīn received guidance from Saiyid Ḥusain[4], the cousin of Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī. But the discripancy in their statements makes them unreliable.

A'ẓamī states that when Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī arrived in Kashmīr (783/1381), Shai*kh* Nūru'd-Dīn was still unborn.[5] Thus by the time Saiyid Ḥusain died (792/1390).[6] The Shai*kh* would not be more than nine years old. Again A'ẓamī says that Nūru'd-Dīn entered the spiritual path at the age of thirty.[7] This then happened some seventeen years after Saiyid Ḥusain's death, as A'ẓamī agrees that the Shai*kh* was born in 779/1378.[8]

According to one statement of Wahhāb, Nūru'd-Dīn would be thirteen years old by the time Saiyid Ḥusain died, as he gives the date of birth of Nūru'd-Dīn as 779/1377-1378.[9] At another place like A'ẓamī he states that the Shai*kh*'s conversion took place when he was thirty years old.[10] This suggests that it is unlikely that the Shai*kh* would have received any guidance

1. *Khākī*, *Rishi-Nāma*, f. 43a; *D.S.*, p. 213; *R.N.*, f. 131b; *A.Ab.*, f. 52a.
2. *T.Az.*, p. 64,
3. *F.K.*, ff. 69b, 82a.
4. See supra, p. 114 for his biography.
5. *T.Az.*, p. 64.
6. See supra, p. 115.
7. *T.Az.*, p. 63.
8. He does not give the date of birth of Nūru'd-Dīn, but says that the latter died at the age of sixty three, in 842/1438-39 (*T.Az.*, p. 64). This gives the Shai*kh*'s date of birth as 779/1377-78,
9. *F.K.*, f. 86b.
10. Ibid., f. 82b,

from Saiyid Ḥusain. The confusion in Wahhāb's statements may also be judged by the fact that elsewhere,[1] he himself states that Nūru'd-Dīn's conversion took place because of Lallā.[2]

Again, Wahhāb, who was himself an adherent of the Kubravīya order, seems to be bent on connecting the Rishīs with that order.

According to Wahhāb, when Mīr Muḥammad, the son of Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī, heard about the virtues of Shai*kh* Nūru'd-Dīn, he went to see him. And after being convinced of his spirituality, the Mīr asked the Shai*kh* to accept him as his disciple. But the Shai*kh* told Mīr Muḥammad that since he was a descendant of the Prophet, he should rather be his disciple. The Mīr thereupon accepted him.[3]

Saiyīd 'Alī,[4] Bābā Nasīb[5] and Mishkātī,[6] the earliest to record the meeting of the Shai*kh* with the Mīr, say nothing about this. In fact the anecdote about Mīr Muḥammad's meeting with Shai*kh* Nūru'd-Dīn reveals that their attitudes to the problem were in conflict. It is said that Mīr Muḥammad criticised Nūru'd-Dīn for abstaining from meat.[7] Some of his companions are even reported to have criticised the Shai*kh* for his lack of knowledge about the *sharī'a*.[8] Thus it seems most unlikely that either Mīr Muḥammad or Shai*kh* Nūru'd-Dīn would have shown any desire to become the disciple of the other.

In fact there seems very little doubt that Nūru'd-Dīn developed his thought in his own atmosphere. By this time a new Bhaktī movement, set in train by Lallā, had started in Kashmīr. In view of the fact that she was a source of inspiration for Nūru'd-Dīn it will be useful to give a brief description of her life.

1. Ibid.
2. See supra, p. 187.
3. *F.K.*, f. 90a-b. See also *T.H.*, III, p. 124; *T.K.*, p. 96.
4. *T.Ks.*, f. 33b-34a.
5. *R.N.*, f. 215a-b.
6. *A.Ab.*, f. 236a-b.
7. *R.N.*, f. 246a-b; *A.Ab.*, f. 236b.
8. Cf. *T.Ks.*, f. 34b; *R.N.*, ff. 216b-217a.

Like that of Nūru'd-Dīn, Lallā's life is shrouded in myth and legend. It is said that she came of a fairly well-to-do family of Brahmans of Pompur, and that right from her childhood she was given to an ascetic life. However, she was married to a Brahman boy in the same village. Her mother-in-law was cruel[1] and her husband ignored her. Because of her mystical tendencies, Lallā failed to conform to the established social practices and was turned out of her husband's house. Thereupon she started roaming from place to place in a semi-nude state.[2] Probably it was disappointment in love and domestic life that turned Lallā into an ascetic. All that can be affirmed of her with certainty is that she flourished between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and that she was a senior contemporary of Nūru'd-Dīn.[3]

1. It is said that Lallā often had to go without meals. Her mother-in-law used to put a large stone on her plate and cover that with rice to make a small helping look like a big heap. Thus Lallā is believed to have made allusion to this story in one of her sayings : "Whether they (in-laws) kill a big sheep or a small one, it was all the same; Lallā has always *nal-wath* (stone) in her plate"—*F.K.*, f. 91.

2. *R.N.*, ff., 218b-219a; *A.Ab.*, f. 259a; *F.K.*, f. 91a-b. The legend of the wandering of Lallā in the nude is probably based on her following saying :

   "Dance then, Lallā, clothed but by the air :
   Sing then, Lallā, clad but in the sky.
   Air and sky : what garment is more fair ?
   'Cloth', saith Custom—doth that sanctify ?—

   Temple, *The word of Lallā*, p. 173 (poem 94).

3. Jonarāja says : "Once upon a time the prince [Shihābu'd Dīn, 1354-73] was wandering for amusement in the forest of Vākpūshṭa, when he saw a circle of Yoginīs in the cavern of a mountain. His friends Udayashrī and Chandraḍāmara also saw them;...the leader of the yoginīs recognized the prince...and sent him a cup of liquor with incantation and blessing." (*R.Tj.*, pp. 35-36) Mishkātī (*A.Ab.*, f. 258b) and Wahhāb (*F.K.*, f. 91b) also agree with Jonarāja and say that the Yoginīs was Lallā. The story of true shows that Lallā was of matured age by the middle of the fifteenth century. However, Anand Kaul, who wrote an article on Lallā's life, "Līfe sketch of Laleshwarī", (*Indian Antiquary*, V. 50, 1921, pp. 302ff) says that Lallā was born in the reign of Sultān 'Alā'u'd-Dīn (1343-1354). Ṣūfī (*Kashīr*, II, p. 383) gives the date of the birth of Lallā as 1335.

The "Lal Wākhi" or 'Sayings of Lallā', are the "current coin of quotation" in Kashmīr. They were first edited and rendered into English by Sir George Grierson in 1920. Later Sir Richard Carnac Temple, in 1924, published a translation in English verse of Lallā's sayings with a detailed analysis of her teachings.

Self-denial, purity of life are the key-note of her sayings. She rejected the established religious dogmas and rituals.[1] Was she influenced by Muslim saints such as Saiyid 'Alī Ḥamadānī? Some modern scholars, including Temple[2] and Muḥibbu'l-Ḥasan,[3] think so. But at the same time Temple, whom Muḥibbu'l-Ḥasan follows, acknowledges that Lallā's association with Saiyid 'Alī is based on legend.[4] It is most likely that the legend was concocted either to glorify the influence of Saiyid 'Alī or to counteract the popular belief that Lallā influenced Shai*kh* Nūru'd-Dīn. There is in fact no trace of Islamtc influence in Lallā's teachings, although some modern scholars such as Grierson[5] and Temple[6] have in vain tried to find some.[7] Indeed it was not the Muslim saints who influenced Lallā, but she who influenced a sectton of the Kashmīrī Muslim saints, the Rishīs, through Nūru'd-Dīn.[8] Nūru'd-Dīn was a junior contemporary of Lallā[9] and though the tales of Nūru'd-Dīn's encounters with Lallā may be taken as hagiological

1. Cf. Temple, *The word of Lallā*, pp. 190, 199 (Poems, 42 and 52). See also 'Abdu'l-Aḥad Āzād, *Kashmirī-Zabān aur Shā'iri*, pp. 154, 212.
2. *The word of Lallā*, pp. 2-3, 80.
3. *Sultāns*, p. 239.
4. *The word of Lallā*, p. 8 See Appendix (C) where the story has been given.
5. *Lallā-Vākyāni*, p.30.
6. *The word of Lallā*, p. 170.
7. See Appendix C for a detailed consideration of this question.
8. Cf. 'Abdu'l-Aḥad Āzād, *Kashmirī Zabān aur Shāirī*, pp. 36, 154.
9. The story about Lallā's meeting with Sultān Shihābu'd-Dīn (1354-73) in a forest, if true, happened many years before Shai*kh* Nūru'd-Dīn was born (779/1378). The tale of Lallā inducing the Shai*kh* to take milk when he was born, and Lailā's encounter with the Shai*kh*, near a house which he was thinking of robbing (see supra, p. 183, 187), shows not only that Nūru'd-Dīn was junior to Lallā but also that she was already a recognized 'saint'.

fabrications, at least they reveal that Nūru'd-Dīn was popularly considered to have had some association with Lallā. The similarity of their sayings and teachings would suggest this was more than mere association, and that Lallā was, in fact, an initial and important source of inspiration for Nūru'd-Dīn.

Lallā, while pleading for spiritual as against formal worship, says :

"Who are they that wreathes of flowers bring ?
What are the flowers that at the Feet they lay ?
Water that they on the Image fling ?
What the spell that Shankar's Self shall sway."[1]

Nūru'd-Dīn likewise points out:

"By bowing down, thou shalt not become a Rishī,
The pounder in the rice-mill did never raise up its head.
By bathing, the mind will not be cleaned,
The fish and otter never ascend the bank."[2]

Lallā relates her spiritual experience in the following verses :

"Passionate, with longing in mine eyes,
Searching wide, and seeking nights and days,
Lo ! I beheld the Truthful One, the wise,
Here in mine own House to fill my gaze."[3]

And Nūru'd-Dīn says :

"Searching far and wide in vain,
Lo ! I found Him in my own country."[4]

On the signs of immoral society Lallā observes :

"In these evil times doth Nature bow
Unto them that walk in wrongful ways.
Autumn pears and apples ripen now
With the apricots of summer days.
In the coming days of shame and wrath
Mother and her daughter, hand in hand,

1. Temple, *The Word of Lallā*, p. 188 (Poem, 39).

2. Cited by Anand Kaul, "A Life of Nand Rishī", *Indian Antiquary*, V. 59, 1930, p. 29.

3. Temple, op. cit., p. 167 (Poem, 3).

4. *Nūr-Nāmā*, p. 155 (Poem, 215).

Strangers to accost shall wander forth;
Men and women in an evil band."[1]

Nūru'd-Dīn makes the same point, employing almost the same language:

"The times will become more and more evil
Human nature itself will change for the worse,
Pears and apples whose ripening time is late autumn
will change and ripen with apricots in the height
of the rainy season ;
Mother and daughter hand in hand, will
enjoy their days with strangers."[2]

That Nūru'd-Dīn was influenced by Lallā's personality is quite clear from one of his sayings, in which he declares Lallā a great soul, He eulogizes her spiritual attainments and, despairing of surpassing them himself, strives only to equal them.

"That Lallā of Padmānpur[3]
Who had drunk nectar[4]
She is the *Avatār* and Yoginī
O God, bestow the same (spiritual power) on me."[5]

The personalities of Lallā and Nūru'd-Din are so mixed up that it is impossible to separate them. But there seems little doubt that Nūru'd-Dīn drew inspiration from Lallā, even if he did not actually become her disciple.

Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn distinguished himself among all the Muslim saints of Kashmīr, Jonarāja,[6] the contemporary of the Shai*kh*, who rarely acknowledges the sanctity of any Muslim, describs him the greatest sage of the time. The Shai*kh* did not concern himself with propagating the faith of Islam. He gave himself up to austere penances. For some time he subsisted

1. Temple, op. cit., p. 219 (Poem, 92).
2. *Nūr-Nāmā*, p. 169 (Poem, 242).
3. Padmānpur, the modern Pompur, is the place where Lallā is believed to have been born—see supra, p. 191.
4. The verse can also be rendered as "who is alive for ever (*amr*, immortal)".
5. *Nūr-Nāmā*, p. 53 (Poem, 33).
6. cf. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, ed. Kaul, p. 126 (stanza 673).

upon wild vegetables,[1] later on he gave them up and sustained life on one cup of milk daily.[2] Finally, in his last years he is said to have reduced his diet to water alone.[3]

Shai*kh* Nūru'd-Dīn died on 26 Rama*z*ān,[4] 842/12 march, 1439, at the age of sixty three.[5] He was buried with almost royal pomp at the village of Chrār[6]; among the thousands of mourners was Sulṭān Zainu'l-'Ābidīn[7]. The simplicity and the purity of Shai*kh* Nūru'd-Dīn's life has greatly impressed the people of Kashmīr, who entertain the highest veneration for the saint to this day.[8] It was, perhaps, to give the expression to popular sentiment that the Af*gh*ān governor, 'Aṭa' Muḥammad *Kh*ān (early nineteenth century), struck coins in the name of Shai*kh* Nūru'd-Dīn.[9]

Teachings.

Shai*kh* Nūru'd-Din received no formal education and left nothing in writing to posterity. However, his sayings, which he, like Lallā, expressed in the contemporary Kashmīrī dialect, embody his teachings. They were handed down to posterity by word of mouth, and were written down two hundred years after his death[10] They long remained scattered in various works[11]

1. *R.N.*, f. 150b; *A.Ab.*, f. 63b; *T.Az.*, p, 63; *F.K.*, f, 87a; *R.Nm.*, f. 61a; *T.H.*, III, p. 121.
2. Ibid., f. 150b-151a; Ibid., f. 63b; Ibid., p. 63; Ibid., f. 87a-b; Ibid., f. 61a-b; Ibid., p. 121.
3. *R.N.*, ff. 152b-153a; *A.Ab.*, f. 64a-b; *R.Nm.*, f. 62a-b; *T.H.*, III, p. 122.
4. *R.Nm.*, f. 71a; *T.K.*, p. 99.
5. *R.N.*, f. 155b; *T.Az.*, p. 64; *T.K.*, p. 99. Saiyid 'Alī says he died in the reign of Sul*t*ān Zainu'l-'Ābidīn—*T.Ks.*, f. 17b. According to Mishkātī the Shai*kh* died at the age of 63, in 808/1405-1406 (*A.Ab.*, f. 68b). Elsewhere (*A.Ab.*, f. 52b), Mishkātī says that the Shai*kh* was born in 757/1356-57, this would mean that either the Shai*kh* died at the age of fifty one or he died in 820/1417-18 (1757+63).
6. The village of Chrār is twenty miles to the south-west of Srīnagar.
7. *R.Nm.*, f. 71a; *T.K.*, p. 99.
8. Cf. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmīr*, p. 288.
9. Vide, Ṣūfī, *Kashmīr*, I, p. 101.
10. Bābā Naṣīb. the author of *R.N.*, which was completed in 1631-32, was the first to record some of the sayings of Shai*kh* Nūru'd-Dīn.
11. The sayings of the Shai*kh* are found in works such as *R.N.*, *A.Ab.*, *T.Az.*, *F.K.*, *R.Nm.*; *T.H.* III and *T.K.*

and have recently beed collected and edited in Persian script by Muḥammad Amīn Kāmil, under the title of *Nūr-Nāmā*.[1]

Since they were passed from generation to generation by word of mouth, there is every possibility of interpolation. A comparison of the sayings attributed to Lallā, which were first collected in the eighteenth century,[2] with the text of Nūru'd-Dīn, as established in the *Nūr-Nāmā*, suggests that it may be impossible finally to decide the authorship of many of the sayings. The *Nūr-Nāma* ascribes to Nūru'd-Dīn some of the sayings which Sir George Grierson attributes to Lallā.

Grierson, whom Temple follows,[3] either did not bother to consult or had no access to Persian sources and accepted as authentic Lallā's sayings, which were narrated to him by a Brahman named Dharma Dasa.[4] But the following comparison of some of the sayings of Lallā with those of Nūru'd-Dīn invites considerable doubt.

Lallā: "Kyāh Kara pontsan dahan ta kāhan
wokh—shun yith ligī karith yim gaiy
soriy samahon yath razi lamahan
ada Kyāzi rāvihe kāhan gāv."[5]
"What shall I do to the five, to the ten, to the eleven,[6]

1. 'Abdu'l-Aḥad Āzād (*Kashmīrī Zabān aur Shā'irī*) has also quoted some of the sayings of the Shai*kh*, but he does not cite any source.
2. Cf. Anand Kaul, "Life Sketch of Laleshwari", *Indian Antiquary*, L., November, 1921, p. 303.
3. Cf. *The Word of Lallā*, pp. 9-10.
4. In the introduction Grierson says that his former assistant pandit Mukand Ram Shastrī introduced him to Dharma Dasa of the village of Gush (in the modern district of Bārāmūla), who had made it his profession to recite Lallā's sayings which had been handed down by word of mouth in his family—*Lallā-Vākyāni*, p. 5.
5. Grierson, *Lallā-Vākyāni*, p. 107 (Poem, 95). The English translation of Lallā's verses is also taken from Grierson's edition.
6. According to Grierson the "five" stand for the five principles of experience of the material world. The "ten" are the ten principles and secondary vital airs. The "eleven" includes five organs of sense, five organs of action and the eleventh the thinking faculty. Thus one who can control and unite them all in one endeavour, has a chance of success in achieving his spiritual goal—op. cit., p. 108.

who scraped out this pot and departed ?
Had they all united and pulled upon this rope,
Then how should the cow of the eleven owners have been lost ?"

Nūru'd-Dīn :

"Kyāh kara pōntsan dahan ta kāhan
su paneth kāhan dithei drāv.
Yudwai sōriy aki wati Pakhan,
Ada Kati rāvihe kāhan gav."[1]
"What shall I do to the five, to the ten, to the eleven.
"He (who) disunited the eleven departed.
Had they all united and taken the same path,
Then how shall the cow of the eleven owners have been lost ?"

Lallā:

"dāmiy ḍīthūm nad wahawü*n*üy
d*a*miy ḍyūṭhum sum na ta tār
d*a*miy ḍiṭhūm thürū pholawü*n*üy
d*a*miy ḍyūṭhum gul na *ta* *kh*ār,"[2]

Nūru'd-Din :

"D*a*miy ḍīṭhūm nads ulwūnny
D*a*miy ḍyūṭhūm sum na ta tār.
D*a*miy ḏīṭhūm thürū pholawū*n*üy
D*a*miy ḍyūṭhum gul na ta *kh*ār"[3]

The verses attributed to Nūru'd-Dīn are identical with that of Lallā, except in the first line, where Nūru'd-Dīn uses "*sulwūnny*" instead of "*wahawunūy*", but the meaning of the terms is the same "flowing".

"For a moment saw I a river flowing
For a moment saw I no bridge nor means of crossing
For a moment saw I a bush all flowers
Far a moment saw I neither rose nor thorn."

1. *Nūr-Nāmā*, p. 156 (Poem, 217).
2. Grierson, op. cit., p. 108 (Poem, 96). The transliteration is that of Grierson. We follow Grierson's system of transliteration in order to avoid confusion.
3. *Nūr-Nāmā*, p. 160 (Poem, 224).

Lallā:

"D*a*miy ḍiṭhūm guja dazwūnny
Damiy ḍithūm dah nata nār
Damiy ḍithūm pandawun hunza mojī
Damiy ḍithūm krajī mās."[1]

Nūru'd-Din:

"D*a*miy ḍithūm dazwūnny gujī[2]
Damiy ḍithūm dah nata sās
Damiy ḍithūm Pandav mojī[3]
Damiy ḍithūm krajī mās."[4]

"For a moment saw I a cooking-hearth ablaze,
For a moment saw I neither fire nor smoke.
For a moment saw I the mother of the Pandavas,
For a moment saw I an aunt of a Potter's wife."

The second line in Nūru'd-Dīn's verse reads: "For a moment I saw neither smoke nor ash."

The comparison of the above sayings leads us to two possible conclusions: either the followers of Nūru'd-Dīn wrongly attributed to him some of Lallā's sayings in order to prove him superior: or Pandit Dharun Dasa recited to Grierson some of Nūru'd-Dīn's sayings believing or pretending that they were Lallā's.

Nevertheless we cannot but believe that there are some authentic personal compositions in the works attributed to thcs two teachers. Many verses occur in one collection but not in the other, and however much one may doubt the details of some of the traditions about them, these traditions are so numerous and widespread that they must refer to real persons whose thought and spiritual experience are reflected in the poems attributed to them.

1. Grierson, op. cit., p. 109 (Poem, 97).
2. In Lallā's saying it is *guja dazwünny* (cooking-hearth a blaze), whereas in Nūru'd-Dīn it is reverse *dazwunny gujī* (a blaze cooking-hearth).
3. In Nūru'd-Dīn's verse *huna* (of) is missing.
4. *Nūr-Nāmā*, p. 161 (Poem, 225).

While Nūru'd-Dīn was influenced by Lallā, her influence did not make him a Hindu saint in the guise of a Muslim Rishī. His sayings show that he believed in the fundamental principles of Islam—the unity of God, the day of Judgement, and reward and punishment. He differed from other Kashmīrī Ṣūfīs in ignoring orthodoxy, while still emphasizing the traditional Ṣūfī path of devotion. To him not mere ritual observances but love, sincerity, a humane outlook, and above all personal piety were the basis of religion.

Nūru'd-Dīn's sayings show that he believed that God is both immanent and transcendent. He is everywhere, not confined to one place or another. According to him, all the branches of knowledge are nothing but the commentary upon the proclamation of faith, "There is no God but Allāh". If one truly seeks for God, he says, everything but Allāh becomes worthless. One who recognises himself, recognises God: "When I was able to recognise my own self, I was able to recognise God; both loss and gain became identical to me and the distinction between life and death disappeared."[1]

He once told his mother: "God was and is and shall be for ever; He is independent of all other creatures; He lacks nothing."[2] Further he says :

"There is one God,
But with a hundred names.
There is not a single blade of grass,
Which does not worship Him."[3]
"First I became certain that there is no god but Allāh,
Then I made myself (acquainted) Divine revelations.
First I forgot myself and yearned after God,
Then I reached *lā-makān*."[4]

Nūru'd-Dīn strongly emphasizes the absolute dependence of mankind on God. One must trust in God, and recognise

1. *A.Ab.*, ff. 67b-68a.
2. *R.N.*, f. 140a.
3. *Nūr-Nāmā*, p. 39 (Poem, 6).
4. Ibid., p. 154 (Poem, 123).

that no human endeavour can succeed without His help. The Shai*kh* is said to have told his mother, when She asked how he proposed to support his family, "Bread is provided by God, and trades and professions are only one of the means getting it. A slave of God should think only of worshipping Him, caring nothing for food and drink."[1] Again he says:

"No one can take anything from him to whom God has given,
Time and chance are only a means to an end.
For one, whom God will abandon, no one can provide,
Neither intelligence nor high caste Shall help him."[2]
"He was, He is and He shall be,
So remember Him constantly here;
He will remove all (your) anxieties,
So come to your senses at once."[3]

Love and intense devotion to God form the basis of Nūru'd-Dīn's utterances. His devotion is complete and exclusive absorption in God and indifference to all except Him. He advocates the suppression of all other preoccupations and the abandonment of worldly cares. The lover, according to Nūru'd-Din, is one who cares neither for spiritual nor fleshly pleasures, but only for the contemplation of the beloved (God)[4] He says:

"Love is the death of a mother's only son,
Love is the venomous sting of a swarm of wasps,
Can the lover have any rest ?
Love is a rope dripping with blood .
Can the wearer (lover) even utter a sigh ?"[5]
"The lover is he who burns wish love,
Whose self shines like gold.
When man's heart lights up with the flame of love ,
Then Shall he reach *lā-makān*."[6]

1 *R.N.*, ff. 139 b-140a.
2. *Nūr-Nāmā*, p. 38 (Poem, 4).
3. Ibid., p. 93 (Poem, 100).
4. *A.Ab.*, f. €8b.
5. *Nūr-Nāmā*, p. 128 (Poem, 164).
6. Ibid., p. 127 (Poem, 163).

A true saint is one who avoids publicity as poison.[1] To ask for blessing from God while worshipping, is a sign of greed.[2] According to him "An *'ālim* is one who distinguishes between the spirit and the flesh; and an *'ārif* is one who is able to discriminate between the desires of the spirit and the desires of the flesh."[3]

Shai*kh* Nūru'd-Dīn believes that although God has bestowed everything upon mankind, we are ungrateful and indifferent to His worship. "He remembers us, He provides our livelihood, He preserves our health, but we are lukewarm in His worship."[4] To worship is a duty imposed on all creatures. Once, when the shai*kh* was in his cave at the village of Kaimuh, his mother came and asked solicitiously how he was putting up with the insects and rats in the cave. The Shai*kh* replied: "They too are worshipping." He added: "whatever creature has been given life by the grace of God, exists only for the purpose of worshipping Him. Whatever has the power to speak has a duty to worship him."[5]

In strong terms he warns men to worship God from the moment they attain the age of reason. He used to ask if one does not turn towards God in the vigour of youth, how can one do so in old age?[6]

> "Understand that sunt (lit. spring, i. e. youth) is the best time (to worship),
> It is better to be ready right from the beginning.
> Do not lag behind, youth is an allusion,
> what shall a man do if he misses his chance early."[7]

Nūru'd-Dīn regarded a man's base nature (*nafs*) as his great enemy. The first duty of worship is to control one's desires. "The belly is the stronghold of the *nafs* and to fight

1. *A.Ab.*, f. 68a.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., f. 68b.
4. *R.N.*, f. 140a.
5. Ibid., f. 146a.
6. Ibid.
7. *Nūr-Nāmā*, p. 137 (Poem, 181).

the *nafs*", he says, "is a most meritorious holy war (*jihād*)."[1] Again he says: "If one subdues his *nafs*, one is a great soul, and his efforts are pure worship."[2]

The Shai*kh* strongly believed that man's *nafs* is the greatest obstacle in one's way to God. Repeatedly and with great vigour the Shai*kh* lays stress on the duty of crushing and overpowering it at all costs. It is said that once he was at the village of Pattan, where he saw some people cooking fish. His mouth began to water at the smell. He went near the stove but instead of taking a piece of fish, he put a burning piece of wood in his mouth and remarked: "O my *nafs* the fish for you is this."[3] This tale shows the high value the Shai*kh* placed upon the subjugation of the baser instincts, He himself gave up first bread, then vegetables and then milk. Later on, he tried to keep alive on water.[4] His whole thought, and that of his followers, is based on the control of the *nafs*. He says:

"The *nafs* has disturbed me greatly,
The *nafs* has ruined me entirely.
It is the *nafs* which makes us destroy others.
The *nafs* is the slave of the devil."[5]
"To serve the *nafs* is to thrust ashes
into one's own eyes.
How then can one expect to see ?"[6]
"The *nafs* is just like a rebellious calf,
which should be tied up.
It should be threatened with the stick
of fasting."[7]
"Desire is like the knotted wood of the forest,
It cannot be made into planks, beams or cradles.

1. *A.Ab.*, f. 68a-b.
2. Ibid., f. 68b.
3. *R.N.*, f. 151a.
4. See supra, p. 197.
5. *Nūr-Nāmā*, p. 112 (Poem, 136).
6. 'Abdu'l-Aḥad Āzād, *Kashmīrī-Zabān aur Shā'irī*, p. 216,
7. Ibid., p. 138 (Poem, 183).

He who cut and filed it
will burn it into ashes."[1]

The Shai*kh* condemned anger pride and greed, the source of which was selfish desires: "The proud should be sent to hell where they will become soft; like iron in the fire"[2] Again he is said to have remarked: "One cannot attain the Truth, if one does not give up anger, pride and greed."[3]

"Those who kill *tamogunas*[4]
They will bear (everything) with resignation,
Those who seek after ease, ease (God),
They consider everything (in this world) as ashes
(worthless).[5]

He is very critical of the *Mullās* who make it their profession to recite the Qur'ān and get money in return. He considers them veritable patterns of hypocrisy. They pursue knowledge for purely selfish reasons: "They wear big turbans and long garments; they carry sticks in their hands; they go from place to place and sell their prayers and fasts in return for food."[6] The sayings of Shai*kh* Nūru'd-Dīn provide much information about the social life and religious attitudes of the *mullās* of his time:

"A spiritual guide[7] seems like a pot full of nectar,
Which may be trickling down in drops.
Having a heap of books beside him,
He may have become confused by reading them.

1. Cited by Anand Kaul, op. cit., 1929, p. 198.
2. *A.Ab.*, f. 67b.
3. Ibid., f. 68b.
4. "The cause of heaviness, ignorance, illusion, lust, anger, pride, sorrow dullness and stolidity", Monier Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 438. The Shai*kh*'s use of this Hindu philosophīcal term is worthy of note.
5. Cited by Anand Kaul, op. cit , 1929, p. 196.
6. *R.N.*, f. 173a-b.
7. The word in the verse is *gor*, which in Kashmīrī is usually applied to a Brahman, but which also means a spiritual guide. It is derived from the well-known Sanskrit word *guru*.

On examining him we found him empty in mind,
He may be preaching to others but forgetting himself."[1]
"The people of the *kali-yuga*[2] in every house
will pretend to be saints,
As a prostitute does when dancing.[3]
They will pretend to be innocent and extremely gentle,
They will not sow beans, cotton seeds or grain.[4]
They will excel thieves in living by unlawful means,
To hide themselves they will repair to a forest."[5]
"O *mullā* your rosary is like a snake,
You begin to count the beads when
your disciples come near.
You eat six meals one after the other,
If you are a *mullā* then who are the thieves ?"[6]

Nūru'd-Dīn yearned for a society, based on moral values. He is conscious of the defects of the society in which he lived.[7] There are many anecdotes associated with the life and doings of Nūru'd-Dīn, which not only reveal his disapproval of the established social customs, but also provide an ample evidence about the medieval society of Kashmīr.

To expose hollowness of the cherished values of the society, the Shai*kh* is said to have had recourse to a device attributed to many saints. He went to attend a feast, to which he had been invited, in rags. Because of his wretched appearance he could not get admittance into the assembly of the guests. He returned to his place and came back richly dressed. When the feast was served, he put his sleeves and the corners of his costly garment into the dishes. The guests were astonished at his strange behaviour and asked

1. *Nūr-Nāmā*, p. 116 (Poem, 143).
2. "The last and worst of the four yugas or ages,...the age of vice"—Monier Williams, op. cit., p. 261. Another example of the Shai*kh*'s free use of Hindu terminology.
3. While dancing the prostitute sings the songs of morality.
4. The verse can be translated also as "They will not earn their bread by honest labour."
5. *Nūr-Nāmā*, p. 123 (Poem, 156).
6. Ibid., p. 124 (Poem, 158).
7. See supra, p. 196.

him the reason. He replied with a smile: "The feast was not really for Nūru'd-Dīn but for the long sleeves."[1]

Nuru'd-Dīn believed in complete harmony among different religions and preached place and understanding in them. He must have been conscious of the hatred and tension which were created during the reign of Sulṭān Sikandar, and was keen to restore harmony between Muslims and non-Muslims. According to Jonarāja, Suha Bhatta,[2] who aftar his conversion to Islam became the champion of that religion and persecuted the non-Muslims, put restrictions on Nuru'd-Dīn.[3] It is most likely that Nuru'd-Dīn disapproved of the actions of Suha Bhatta, and raised his voice against it. His own sayings, in which he calls on people to follow the path of peace and harmony, show his strong desire for understanding, love and affection among all sections of the Kashmīrīs.

"We belong to the same parents.
Then why this difference ?
Let Hindus and Muslims (together)
worship God alone."[4]
"We came to this world like partners.
We should have shared our joys
and sorrows together."[5]

Nuru'd-Dīn's message was not confined to one race or one class, but addressed to mankind as a whole. He belonged to the universe. He expressed his thought in the simple language of his people, clothing his ideas with similes and examples familiar from their experience. His verses therefore had an immediate appeal to the unlettered masses. Allusions to his sayings and verses both by the Muslims and non-Muslims of Kashmir are quite common even today and have become almost proverbial. Above all the sayings of Nuru'd-Dīn are the expression of the ideas of many thinkers of his time. In this way he and his sayings have the great importance.

1. Cf. Ṣūfī, *Kashmīr*, I, p. 101.
2. See supra, p. 131; infra, p. 280.
3. *Rājataranginī*, ed. by Kaul, p. (stanza 673).
4. *Nūr-Nāmā*, p. 42 (Poem, 12).
5. Ibid., p. 91 (Poem, 96). See also ibid., p. 156 (Poem, 217).

CHAPTER VII

THE RISHĪ ORDER—B

Disciples of Nūru'd-Dīn

Shai*kh* Nūru'd-Dīn attracted a large number of people to his fold.[1] Among his prominent disciples were Bāmu'd-Dīn, Zainu'd-Dīn, Latīfu'd-Dīn Naṣru'd-and Qiyamu'd-Dīn. There is no evidence that Nūru'd-Dīn gave a K*hilāfat-nāmā* to any of his disciples or that he nominated any of them as his successor. But Saiyid 'Alī, the author of *Tāri*kh-*i-Kashmīr*[2], calls the first four above mentioned disciples his K*halīfas,* and the later writers[3] have followed the Saiyid.

Of these four K*halifas,* the first three are alleged to have been born as Hindus, and to have been converted to Islam by Nūru'd-Dīn. The sources, however, are not unanimous about the circumstances of their conversion; the details they relate are drawn from the stock of standard Ṣūfī stories, and there is no external evidence to support their statements. Therefore, one must view them with considerable caution.

It is said that Bāmu'd-Dīn was a famous Brahman, respected by many Kashmīrī Hindus, residing at Bamuzu,[4] where he used to worship numerous idols. He is credited with having possessed remarkable miraculous powers, even as a Hindu. For example, he is reported to have bathed daily at dawn, simultaneously at five different places in Kashmīr:[5] Chandanyār

1. *F.K.*, f. 92a.
2. F. 32b.
3. *F.K.*, f. 92a-b; *T.H.*, III, pp. 123ff.; *T.K.*, ff. 100ff.
4. Ten miles to the south-east of the modern district of Anantnāg.
5. *T.Ks.*, ff. 32a-b, 37a-b; *R.N.*, f. 254b; *A.Ab.*, f. 70a; *F.K.*, f. 92b; *T.H.*, III, p. 126; *T.K.*, p. 100.

(in the town of Vijabror), Shoryār and *Kh*ujyār[1] (in Srīnagar); Vular (40 miles north-west of Srīnagar) and *Kh*ādanyār (in the town of Bārāmula).[2]

It is said that when Nūru'd-Dīn heard about his reputation, he decided to visit him and convert him to Islam. When Nūru'd-Dīn went to see Bhuma Sidh (the Hindu name of Bāmu'd-Dīn), he put the bloody skin of a newly slaughtered cow on his shoulders. Bhuma Sidh saw the Shai*kh*,[3] and was naturally annoyed. He asked the Shai*kh* to go away, and not to pollute the idols. Nūru'd-Dīn stayed; the Brahman asked him what he wanted. Nūru'd-Dīn replied : "I want you to become a Muslim," and added that it was folly to worship idols carved out of stone by a mere man. To worship what one has created himself is a sign of ignorance. After a long discussion, the Brahman asked the Shai*kh* to prove the truth of Islam. The Shai*kh* addressed the idols, which at once gave tongue and Bhuma Sidh accepted Islam,[4] and was later named Bāmu'd-Dīn, by the Shai*kh*.[5]

Saiyid 'Alī and A'*z*amī, however, give another version of Bāmu'd-Dīn's conversion. According to them Bhuma Sidh showed Nūru'd-Din his spiritual powers by flying up towards the sky. Nūru'd-Dīn sent his shoes after him, Bhuma Sidh on seeing this was highly impressed by the Shai*kh* and accepted Islam.[6]

1. Ḥasan and Miskīn say "Chataryār" (*T.H.*, III, p. 126; *T.K.*, p. 100). But near *Kh*ujyār is the famous ancient Hindu temple of *Hār-i-Parbat*.
2. *R.N.*, f. 254b; *A.Ab.*, f. 70a; *F.K.*, f. 92b; *T.H.*, III, p. 126; *T.K.*, p. 100.
3. According to Naṣīb, Bhūma Sidh had come to know supernaturally about the Shai*kh*'s arrival and was telling his servants not to allow him to enter when the Shai*kh* came in. *R.N.*, f. 254b.
4. *R.N.*, ff. 254b-255a; *A.Ab.*, f. 70a-b; *F.K.*, ff 92b-93a; *T.H.*, III, p. 127; *T.K.*, p. 101. According to Naṣīb, Bhūma Sidh before accepting Islam, asked the Shai*kh* whether, if he changed his religion, his past sins would be forgiven. The Shai*kh* told him that he himself was the surety for him in heaven. *R.N.*, f. 262a.
5. Ibid., *T.H.*, III, p. 127; *T.K.*, p. 101.
6. *T.Ks.*, f. 32a-b; *T.Az.*, pp. 64-5.

It is said that Zainu'd-Dīn[1] hailed from Kishtwār, and that his father, who was a descendent of the rulers of that country,[2] was killed by his enemies. Zainu'd-Dīn was quite young.[3] According to Saiyid 'Alī,[4] Naṣīb,[5] Mishkāti,[6] Wahhāb[7], Mattū,[8] Ḥasan[9] and Miskīn,[10] when quite young Zainu'd-Din once fell seriously ill and no medicine could cure him. His mother became anxious; meanwhile Nūru'd-Dīn appeared and told her that he would pray for the recovery of her son if she promised that they both would later come to Kashmīr and accept Islam.

A'*z*amī, however, asserts that Zainu'd-Dīn dame to Kashmīr because of a Divine command and accepted Islam there at the hands of Nūru'd-Dīn.[11]

La*t*īfu'd-Dīn[12] is said to have been chief[13] of Maru-

1. According to some sources his original Hindu name was Ziyā Singh (probably Jayā Singh); *A.Ab.*, f. 73b; *T.Az.*, p. 64; *F.K.*, f. 94b; *T.K.*, p. 102.

   Mattū and Ḥasan, however, give his name as Zaina Singh; *R.Nm.* f. 49b; *T.H.*, III, p. 128.
2. *A.Ab.*, f. 73b; *R.Nm.*, f. 49.
3. *T.Ks.*, f. 34b; *R.N.*, f. 283b; *A.Ab.*, f. 73b; *F.K.*, f. 94b; *R.Nm.*, 49b; *T.H.*, III, p. 128; *T.K.*, p. 102.
4. *T.Ks.*, ff. 34b-35a.
5. *R.N.*, f. 284a.
6. *A.Ab.*, f. 73b.
7. *F.K.*, ff. 94b-95a.
8. *R.Nm.*, f. 49b.
9. *T.H.*, III, pp. 128-9.
10. *T.H.*, p. 102.
11. *T.Az.*, p. 64.
12. The sources are not unanimous about his original Hindu name. According to Saiyid 'Alī and A'*z*amī, his Hindu name was "Ladī-Raina" (*T.Ks.*, f. 39a; *T.Az.*, p. 65). Mishkātī and Wahhāb say "Īdi-Raina" (*A.Ab.*, f. 78a; *F.K.*. f 98b), and Ḥasan and Miskīn "Āwat-Raina" (*T.H.*, III, p. 132; *T.K.*, p. 104).
13. *T.Ks.* f 39a; *R.N.*, f. 294a; *A.Ab.*, f. 78a; *K.S.*, f. 83b; *F.K.*, f. 98b; *T.H.*, III p. 132; *T.K.*, p. 104. According to A'*z*amī, he was the son of the chief of Maru-Adavin; *T.Az.*, p. 65.

Adavin[1] and to have called one day on Shai*kh* Nūru'd-Dīn, who asked the purpose of the visit; he replied that he wanted his friendship. Nūru'd-Dīn answered that there could be no friendship between them unless he accepted Islam. La*t*īfud-Dīn yielded and at the same time gave up his post and became the disciple of the Shai*kh*.[2]

The story of N ūru'd-Dīn approaching Bhūma Sidh (Bāmu'd-Dīn) dressed in a bloody cow-skin is quite incompatible with the character of the Shai*kh*. The tale related by Saiyid 'Ali and A'*z*amī of the two men competing in levitation is a stock tale of the Yogī-Ṣūgī confrontations described in almost every hagiological work.[3]

The tradition that Nūru'd-Dīn made conversion to Islam a condition of his helping Zainu'd-Dīn, when he was sick, is also irreconciable with Nūru'd-Dīn's humaintarian bent of mind. Mullā Aḥmad bin Ṣabūr says that Zainu'd-Dīn was searching for a *Pīr*, when he met Nūru'd-Dīn and became his disciple.[4] His version accords better with Nūru'd-Dinis known character.

Once again Mullā seems to show more respect for the facts in the reason he offers for La*t*īfu'd-Dīn's conversion. According to him, La*t*īfu'd-Dīn was overpowered by mystical attraction towards God, and so he abandoned his post and became Nūru'd-Dīn's disciple.[5]

The stories which credit Nūru'd-Dīn with having converted Bāmu'd-Dīn, Zainu'd-Dīn and La*t*īfu'd-Dīn to Islam are all concocted and seem to have been designed to prove Nūru'd-Dīn's zeal and missionary spirit. They show that he was not only an orthodox Ṣūfī but also a narrow minded Muslim. But in his recorded remarks there is no mention of this zeal.

1. In the modern district of Anantnāg.

2. *R.N.*, f. 294a; *A.Ab.*, f. 78a; *F.K.*, f. 98b; *T.H.*, III, pp. 132-3; *T K.*, p. 104.

3. Cf. supra, p. 47.

4. *K.S.*, f. 42a.

5. *K.S.*, f. 38b.

He is said to have remarked once: "I am prejudiced against nobody and I seek to influence nobody".[1] Had he been orthodox and narrow minded he would not have recognized Lāllā as an *avatār* and superior to himself.[2] In his sayings, he strongly advises people to live in peace and asks both Hindus and Muslims to live as brothers.[3] Again, had he been a missionary, he would have joined hands with Sūha, Bhatta, who put some restrictions on him,[4] to convert the Hindus to Islam.

It is more likely that the simplicity love of mankind and sympathy with human suffering of Nūru'd-Dīn appealed to the people of other communities and many became his disciples and later on accepted Islam.

Bāmu'd-Dīn

After enrolling himself as one of the disciples of Nūru'd-Dīn, Bāmu'd-Dīn is said to have lived for twelve years,[5] eating crushed stones and water as his food.[6] This is obviously an exaggeration, but speaks at least of his reputation for piety. He is said to have kept no servant and never troubled himself about keeping a proper kitchen.[7]

It appears that Bāmu'd-Dīn, like his mentor, sought solitude. When 'Alī Shāh[8] (1413-20), wanted to see him, he said that if the visit was really necessary, he should not come in his royal robes. The Sul*t*an attended Bāmu'd-Dīn in the

1. *A.Ab.*, f. 69a.
2. See supra, p. 196.
3. See supra, p. 212.
4. See supra, p. 211.
5. *T.Ks.*, f. 32b; *A.Ab.*, ff. 71b-72a; *T.Az.*, p. 65; *F.K*, f. 93b; *T.H.*, III, p. 128; *T.K.*, p. 102.
"Twelve years" seems to be an idiom for "a fair while".
6. *T.Ks.*, f. 38a; *R.N.*, f. 280a-b; *A.Ab.*, f. 72a; *F.K.*, f. 93b; *T.H.*, III, p. 128; *T.K.*, p. 102. According to A'*z*amī, he used to take nothing but water; *T.Az.*, p. 65.
7. *A.Ab.*, f. 72a; *T.Az*, p. 65; III, p. 128; *T.K.*, p. 102.
8. *F.K.*, f. 93b; *T.H.*, III, p. 128. Other sources do not give the name of the Sul*t*ān.

dress of a peasant. He asked, as was the custom of the age, for the saint's advice; the reply was: "You have taken off the dress of a king, but you have not taken your mind from the cares of your kingdom. You refuse to remove the cotton wool of heedlessness from your ears; so what use would my company and advice be to you ? The nature of rulers is like fire and the counsel and advice of saints like air; the fire flares up in the; air". Again the Sultan asked if he could do anything for him Bāmu'd-Dīn replied: "Do not come to see me again, and do not mention my name in your court". The Sulṭān retorted: "What deep enmity you show for ordinary men". The reply was: "Only because I am enemy of worldliness". When the Sulṭān left, Bamu'd-Dīn threw the mat, on which the Sulṭān had been sitting, in the river.[1]

When Bāmu'd-Dīn was dying, somebody asked who was to wash his corpse; he replied: "Zainu'd-Dīn." His disciples told him that it was impossible for Zainu'd-Dīn to come, as he was in Tibet, far from Kashmīr. Bāmū'd-Dīn replied that distance was nothing. When he died, Zainu'd-Dīn miraculously attended his funeral.[2] This tradition would imply that Bāmu'd-Dīn's death took place after 1420, as Zainū'd-Din's visit to Tibet, if true, occurred in the reign of Zainū'l-'Ābidīn[3] (1420-70).

Bāmu'd-Dīn is buried at Bamuzu, where he is supposed to have maintained his idols and performed his worship as a Hindu, and later lived and prayed as a Muslim Rishī[4].

Zainu'd-Dīn

The most distinguished of all the disciples of Shaikh

1. *R.N.*, f. 282a-b; *A.Ab.*, f. 72b; *F.K.*, f. 93b; *T.H.*, III, p. 128. Saiyid 'Alī, who also records the Sulṭān's visit to Bāmu'd-Dīn (*T.Ks.*, f. 38b), does not refer to the discussion between the two. Similar anecdotes are ascribed to other Ṣūfīs too.

2. *R.N.*, ff. 282b-283a; *A.Ab.*, f. 73a; *T.Az.*, p. 65; *F.K.*, f. 93b. See also *T.H.*, III, p. 128; *T.K.*, p. 102.

3. See infra, p. 223.

4. *R.N.*, f. 283a; *T.Az.*, p. 65; *F.K.*, f. 93b; *T.H.*, III, p. 128; *T.K.*, p. 102.

Nūru'd-Dīn was Zainu'd-Dīn. His piety and austerities earned a great name for him. Shai*kh* Nūru'd-Dīn held him in great esteem[1] and in one of his sayings he pays glowing tributes to him : "My Zaina (Zainu'd-Din) is a fountain of the water of immortality; such is his devotion to the Almighty that he excels his guide."[2]

After serving his preceptor for many years, Zainu'd-Dīn under the orders of the Shai*kh*, moved to 'Aish-Maqām[3] and stayed there in a cave.[4] Like many other Rishīs, he applied himself to a life of simplicity and celibacy and adopted the forms of worship which the Rishīs considered most effective.

It is said that once he asked one of his disciples to bring from the market something bitter and disagreeable. The disciple brought black pepper, as he could find nothing more bitter. Zainu'd-Dīn was much pleased at its taste. He asked the price; the disciple replied "one *fulūs*" (small coin of uncertain value). He asked how much goat-meat he could have bought

1. Cf. *R N.*, f. 285a; *F.K.*, f. 95a; *T.H.*, III, p. 129; *T.K.*, p. 103.
2. *Nūr-Nāmā*, p. 55 (poem 37).
3. *R.N.*, f. 284b; *A.Ab.*, f. 74a; *T.Az.*, p. 64; *F.K.*, f. 95a; *T.H.*, III, p. 129; *T.K.*, p. 102. 'Aish-Maqām or abode of pleasure, is thirteen miles from Anantnāg. Saiyid 'Alī, however, says that Zainu'd-Dīn moved to the village of Shaiva, in the *Pargana* Zaingīr (in the modern district of Bārāmūla); *T.Ks.*, f. 35b.
4. It is said that when Zainu'd-Dīn moved to 'Aish-Maqām, he found the cave full of snakes. He ordered them out and all except one old snake obeyed. Zainu'd-Dīn told it that for the sake of God, it too should move out, whereupon it went away. But Zainu'd-Dīn, fearing lest they be a source of trouble for the people, extracted a promise from all the snakes that they would harm nobody and in return he promised that nobody would harm them; *R.N.*, ff. 288b; 289 b. *A.Ab.*, f. 74a-b; *F.K.*, ff. 94b-95a; *T.H.*, III, p. 129; *T.K.*, pp. 102-3.

   It is interesting to note that the Nāga cult prevailed in the Valley throughout Hindu rule (cf. *R.Tk.*, I, p. 188. For a detailed account, see Vogel, *Indian Serpent-Lore*, Ch. VI; Sunil Chandra Ray, "History of Religion in Ancient Kashmīr", *Jaurnal of the Bihar Research Society*, March 1955, pp. 168-70). It seems that the cult was prevalent even during the Muslim rule. Abū'l-Fazl tells us that there were seven hundred places in the valley where there were carved images of snakes which the inhabitants worshipped; *A.A.*, II, p. 171,

with that amount; the disciple replied : "eight *sers*".[1] Zainu'd-Dīn surprisingly remarked : "To make a meal of pepper means to eat enough for eight men". Therefore, he abandoned all thought of pepper, resolving to eat only raw nuts picked up from the ground.[2]

Many miracles are attributed to Zainu'd-Dīn. Once, in winter, one of his disciples went to bring water; he had to go a long way as there was no water near the cave. By chance he slipped, breaking his leg and smashing the pot. Shamsu'd-Dīn, one of the disciples of Zainu'd-Dīn, told his preceptor[3] about this and asked who was to get the water. Zainu'd-Dīn prayed and the leg of his disciple was cured. He also got a hint from on high to go to Āina, a place nearby, and dig beneath a tree on which a crow would be sitting. He did this and water sprang up from the ground following him until he halted.[4] The legend came to Abu'l-Fazl's ears also; he writes : "In the village of 'Aish (Maqām) is the cell of Bābā Zainu'd-Dīn Rishī. It is in the side of a hill. It is said that in ancient times the hill held no water, but when he took up his abode there, a spring began to flow".[5]

Another legend has it that Zainu'd-Dīn once sent one of his disciples to a certain place. The king's officials, who were working on Shāhkul Canal,[6] seized him for forced labour. When he returned and Zainu'd-Dīn learned what had happened, in his anger he caused the canal to dry up. It was only

1. One *ser* was equivalent to 15 *misqāl* or gold coins (cf. Steingass, *Persian English Dictionary*, pp. 715 and 1172). In modern Kashmīrī it is equivalent to 2 lbs.

2. *R.N.*, f. 288a-b; *A.Ab.*, f. 75a; *F-K.*, f. 95b; *T.H.*, III, p. 130; *T.K.*, p. 103. See also *T.Ks.*, f. 35b.

3. But Wahhāb says that it was Shamsu'd-Dīn whose leg was broken; *F.K.*, f. 95a.

4. *R.N.*, f. 288a; *A.Ab.*, ff. 74b-75a; *T.Az.*, p, 64; *F.K.* f. 95a; *R.Nm.*, ff. 84b-85a; *T.H.*, III, pp. 129-30; *T.K.*, p. 104.

5. *A.A.*, II, p. 172.

6. This canal was constructed by Zainu'l-Ābidīn; *R.Tj.*, p. 87.

when the people demonstrated with Zainu'd-Dīn, that he restored the flow of water.[1]

It is believed that Zainu'd-Dīn visited Tibet.[2] The sources assert that the cause of his visit to that country was the displeasure of Sultān Zainu'l-'Ābidīn (1420-70), who once went to see Zainu'd-Dīn, but was treated with scant attention. The Sultān was displeased, and asked him to leave his kingdom. Zainu'd-Dīn gladly agreed and betook himself and some of his disciples to Tibet, where he was accorded a warm welcome.[3] But soon the son of the ruler of that country died[4] and the people blamed Zainu'd-Dīn. He was threatened with death; he tried to convince them that it was God's will, not his, but all in vain. So he prayed to God, and the prince returned to life.[5]

Meanwhile, Sultān Zainu'l-'Ābidīn is said to have got a boil on his foot and physicians failed to cure him. He asked help from Ḥājī Adham,[6] who told him that he was suffering because of the displeasure of Zainu'd-Dīn.[7] So he sent his son,

1. *R.N.*, ff. 289b-290a; *F.K.*, f. 95b; *R.Nm.*, f 86a-b; *T.H.*, III, pp. 130-1.
2. In medieval times the modern district of Ladākh was also called Tibet (little Tibet); cf. *R.Tk.*, II, p. 435.
3. *T.Ks.*, ff. 19b, 35b-36a; *R.N.*, f. 291a-b; *A.Ab.*, f. 76a-b; *F.K.*, f. 95b; *R.Nm.*, f. 107a-b; *T.H.*, III, p. 131.
4. *T.Ks.*, f. 136a; *A.Ab.*, f. 76b; *F.K.*, f. 96a; *T.H.*, III, p. 131. Naṣīb says that the son of a newly converted Muslim died and people told him that it was because of his conversation to Islam, for which Zainu'd-Dīn was responsible (*R.N.*, ff. 291b-292a). Mattū asserts that the son of one of the attendants of the queen died and Zainu'd-Dīn was accused for this; *R.Nm.*, f. 108b.
5. *T.Ks.*, f. 36a; *R.N.*, f. 292a; *A.Ab.*, f. 76b; *F.K.*, f. 96a; *R.Nm.*, f. 109a; *T.H*, III, p. 131.
6. See for his biography, supra, p. 125.
7. *T.Ks.*, ff. 19b, 36b; *R.Nm.*, 109a.
According to Wahhāb, the Sultān approached Latīfu'd-Dīn Rishī, one of the disciples of Nūru'd-Dīn (*F.K.*, f. 96a), whereas Naṣīb, Mishkātī and Ḥasan suggest that the Sultān himself realized that it was because of the displeasure of Zainu'd-Dīn; *R.N.*, f. 292a; *A.Ab.*, ff. 77a-b; *T.H.*, III, p. 131.

prince Ḥaidar,[1] to bring him back. The moment Zainu'd-Dīn put his foot on the road homewards the Sulṭān recovered and when the saint drew near, he personally went to receive him.[2]

The story bears the marks of fabrication and seem to have been concocted in order to glorify the miraculous powers of Zainu'd-Dīn Rishī. The same sources attribute to Zainu'l-'Ābidīn another example of royal rage being frustrated, when he approached Shaikh Bahāu'd-Dīn Ganjbakhsh, a Kubravīya saint.[3] But he was not exiled. Moroever, Nūru'd-Dīn was still alive,[4] enjoying very cordial relations with the Sulṭān.[5] In such circumstances his intercession would surely have been sought, rather than that of Ḥājī Adham, as Zainu'd-Dīn was Nūru'd-Dīn's disciple.

According to Bābā Naṣīb,[6] Zainu'd-Dīn introduced a special dress for the Rishīs, the *Rishī-jāma*. He believes that Zainu'd-Dīn had seen the dress of the *ḥājīs* in Mecca, where, because of his supernatural powers, he used to attend the Friday prayers. In Wahhāb's *Futūḥāt-i-Kubravīya*, the dress is incidentally described in the life of Shamsu'd-Dīn, one of the disciples of Zainud'-Dīn, as : "a variegated woollen cloak, with a black and white pattern worked into it."[7]

Before his death, Zainu'd-Dīn made a will requiring that after the funeral ritual his body he put in a *tābūt* and placed in a corner of the cave. The disciples did as he asked. But later they found the corpse missing from the *tābūt*. One night, after the disappearance of the body, one of his disciples dreamed that he desired a grave to be made in his name at the spot

1. *T.Ks.*, ff. 19b, 36b; *F.K.*, f. 96a; *R.Nm.*, f. 109a; *T.H.*, III, p. 131. Others do not mention the name of the prince.
2. *T.Ks.*, f. 20b; *R.N.*, f. 292a; *A.Ab.*, f. 77b; *T.H.*, III, pp. 131-2.
3. See supra, p. 152, n. 3.
4. Cf. *K.S.*, f. 50a.
5. Cf. supra, p. 197.
6. *R.N.*, f. 292b.
7. *F.K.*, f. 96b.

where they had kept his *tābūt*.[1]

Abū'l-Fazl also seems to have been impressed by the story. He writes : "For twelve years he occupied this cell (at 'Aish-Maqām) and towards the end (of his life) he closed its mouth with a huge stone and never went forth again, and no one has ever found trace of him."[2]

The tomb of Zainu'd-Dīn, at 'Aish-Maqām is a source of inspiration for the masses of Kashmīr. "This shrine", a modern scholar writes, "is much respected by the boatmen of Kashmīr, who take their children [there] and cut off their first lock of hair. If this was done elsewhere the child would die or become blind."[3]

Latīfu'd-Dīn

Another disciple of Shai*kh* Nūru'd-Dīn, who made the order popular, was La*t*īfu'd-Dīn Rishī. It is said that after he enrolled himself as one of the disciples of the Shai*kh*, the latter asked him what he had achieved up to that time. La*t*īfu'd-Dīn replied "wealth". The Shai*kh* asked : "Did your father also achieve it ?" He replied : "Yes, he did". The Shai*kh* then asked : "To whom did he leave it ?" La*t*īfu'd-Dīn replied : "To me". "Why did not he take it with him ?" asked the Shai*kh*. He replied : "It was not worth taking". The Shai*kh* remarked: "He was not wise; he accumulated some thing he could not take with him. The wise man strives for something worth taking [when he dies]".[4]

As already pointed out, La*t*īfu'd-Dīn was a rich man, thus Shai*kh* Nūru'd-Dīn wanted to impress upon him that worldly goods were of no use for one on the path to God. La*t*īfu'd-Dīn, after serving the Shai*kh* for some time, was asked to settle

1. *A.Ab.*, f. 78a-b; *T.Az.*, p. 64; *F.K.*, f. 96a; *T H.*, III, p. 133; *T.K.*, p. 104.
2. *A.A.*, II, pp. 172-3.
3. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmīr*, p. 288.
4. *A.Ab.*, f. 78b.

down at Uttar and was entrusted with two newly enrolled Rishīs, Pīrbāz and Sharīf Ashwār.[1]

Laṭīfu'd-Dīn, like many other Rishīs, at first used to eat *upalhākh* (a wild vegetable), but when he migrated to Uttar, he lived on another wild vegetable known as *Kanchan*,[2] even more bitter than *upalhākh*. The reason for this change is given that once he found *upalhākh* tough, and he enquired from Sharīf why it was so. Sharīf replied that he brought green herbs, while Pīrbāz used to bring dry ones. Laṭīfu'd-Dīn then asked Pīrbāz why he used to bring dry herbs. He replied for two reasons: firstly that when one cuts the green herbs they start bleeding, secondly that when they are boiled, they cry "why do you kill and burn us?" Laṭīfu'd-Dīn was moved by the arguments of his disciple and he gave up eating all kinds of green herbs as he believed that he was destroying another life to keep himself alive.[3]

Towards the end of his life, Laṭīfu'd-Dīn moved from Uttar to Poskar,[4] because at Uttar people in large numbers used to come to him and ask for his blessings.[5] It was at Poskar that he breathed his last and was buried.[6]

1. *T.Ks.*, f. 39b; *R.N.*, f. 294b; *A.Ab.*, f. 78b; *F.K.*, f. 98b; *T.H.*, III, p. 133; *T.K.*, p. 104.

2. *R.N.*, ff. 294b-295a; *A.Ab.*, f. 79a; *F.K.*, ff. 98b, 99a; *T.H.*, III, p. 133. *Kanhan* is used for medical dressing and draws out the pus from pimples and boils.

3. *R.N.*, ff. 324b-325a; *A.Ab.*, ff. 92b-93a; *F.K.*, f. 99a; *T.H.*, III, p. 164. Mullā does not quote the anecdot regarding Laṭīfu'd-Dīn's change of diet, but says simply that he gave up eating green herbs; *K.S.*, f. 39a.

4. *T.Ks.*, f. 39b; *R.N.*, f. 295a; *A.Ab.*, f. 79a; *K.S.*, f. 39a; *F.K.*, f. 99a; *T.H.*, III, p. 133.

5. *T.Ks.*, ff. 39b-40a.

6. Ibid., f. 46a; *R.N.*, f. 295a; *A.Ab.*, f. 79a; *K.S.*, f. 39a; *F.K.*, f. 99a; *T.H.*, III, p. 133.

Naṣru'd-Dīn

One of the favourite disciples and constant companions of Shai*kh* Nūru'd-Dīn was Nasru'd-Dīn, commonly known in Kashmīr as Nasr Rishī. He was the son of a wealthy family,[1] living at Sazīpur in the *pargana* of Yech.[2] Once, when young, he fell ill and his digestion failed entirely. His parents spent lavishly, but all in vain. On his sick-bed, he dreamed that he saw a group of people and enquired who they all were, and who was sitting in their midst. They replied that they were the body of *abdāls* and seated in the middle was the celebrated Shai*kh* Nūru'd-Dīn of Kaimuh, and they suggested that he visit him as soon as he could, if he wished to be cured of his disease. He told his parents what he had seen in the dream. They forthwith set off to wait upon the Shai*kh*, taking their son with them.[3] Nūru'd-Dīn asked him what was wrong and what was his name. He described his disease and said : "My name is Naṣr and my title is Raothar ("wrestler" in Kashmīrī)." Nūru'd-Dīn told him : "Are you able to live up to your title ?" Naṣru'd-Dīn replied : "If I had your favour, I could." Then Nūru'd-Dīn told one of his disciples to bring food for Nasru'd-Dīn and asked the latter to eat as much as he could.[4] As soon as he had finished the food he found a spiritual change in himself and bade farewell to his parents, saying : "I have found my physician". They were shocked and said : "Our life will be miserable without you". Naṣru'd-Dīn replied : "To make it sweet, be with God."[5] Thus he bade farewell to the world and remained with Nūru'd-Dīn until his death.[6]

1. *T.Ks.*, f. 40a; *R.N.*, f. 296a; *A.Ab.*, f. 79b; *T.Az.*, p. 65; *F.K.*, f. 100b; *T.H.*, III, p. 134; *T.K.*, p. 105.
2. *T.Ks.*, f. 40a. The *pargona* Yech adjoins Srīnagar on the south-west.
3. *T.Ks.*, f. 40a; *R.N.*, f. 296a-b; *A.Ab.*, f. 79b; *T.Az.*, p. 66; *F.K.*, f. 100b; *T.H.*, III, p. 134; *T.K.*, pp. 105-6.
4. Ibid.
5. *A.Ab.*, f. 80a; *F.K.*, f. 100b.
6. *R.N.*, f. 226b; *A.Ab.*, ff. 79b-80a; *T.Az.*, p. 66; *F.K.*, f. 100b; *T.H.*, *iii*, p. 134; *T.K.*, p. 106.

   Mullā however, says that Naṣru'd-Dīn had renounced the world, on his own, and was searching for a *pīr*. On meeting Nūru'd-Dīn, he became his disciple; *K.S.*, f. 37a.

During his spiritual apprenticeship, Naṣru'd-Dīn was entrusted with the care of other disciples of Nūru'd-Dīn. It is said that Nasru'd-Dīn fasted and ate ashes mixed with water at the time of *iftār*. This he did alone, and nobody knew of it. One of the Shai*kh*'s disciples thought that he was drinking milk himself, but proving only *sāg* (spinach) for them. He complained to Shai*kh* Nūru'd-Dīn. The Shai*kh* asked him to watch Naṣru'd-Dīn and snatch his cup as soon as he had prepared it. When he finally succeeded, he brought the cup to Nūru'd-Dīn, who asked him to taste it; he found that it was not milk but ashes, and was covered with shame.[1]

Nūru'd-Dīn then asked Naṣru'd-Dīn to take rice instead of ashes.[2] It is reported that Naṣru'd-Dīn made it his habit to take only a hundred grains of rice daily.[3] According to Miskīn,[4] Shai*kh* Nūru'd-Dīn used gradually to reduce the quantity Nasrud'-Dīn ate until finally he took only twenty grains of rice as his full meal. Once, when under the command of the Shai*kh*, Naṣru'd-Dīn began a retreat of forty days with only four walnuts to eat. After ten days in solitude, he was trying to crack the first walnut and Nūru'd-Dīn, who happened to pass by, heard the sound. He asked what he was doing.

1. *R N.*, f. 297a; *A.Ab.*, f. 80a-b; *F.K.*, f. 100b; *T H.*, III, p. 135.

   Mullā says that Naṣru'd-Dīn used to eat ashes, although Nūru'd-Dīn had asked him to drink milk (*K.S.*, f. 37a). But it is unlikely that Naṣru'd-Dīn would do something contrary to what his preceptor had asked of him.

   Secondly, when one of the disciples of Nūru'd-Dīn complained to him that Naṣru'd-Dīn was drinking milk, the Shai*kh* would have told him he did it on his advice.

2. *T.Ks.*, 40b; *R.N.*, f. 297b; *A.Ab.*, f. 81a; *K.S.*, f. 37b; *F.K.*, f. 100b; *T.K.*, p. 125.

3. *T.Ks.*, f. 40b.

   Naṣīb and Mullā say that he used to take only fourteen grains of rice (*R.N.*, f. 297b; *K.S.*, f. 37b), and Mishkātī and Wahhāb say that he used to eat eighteen grains (*A.Ab.*, f. 81a; *F.K.*, f. 100b).

4. *T.K.*, p. 105.

Nasru'd-Dīn replied by breaking a walnut. Nūru'd-Dīn remarked : "I thought you were breaking your nafs and here you are cracking a walnut".[1] When Naṣru'd-Dīn finished his retreat, he presented all four walnuts to the Shai*hk*.[2]

Naṣru'd-Dīn was the constant companion of Shai*kh* Nūru'd-Dīn from the day he joined him. Out of affection the Shai*kh* used to call him by the name of "Naṣro", and addressed some of his sayings to him. The following sayings of the Shai*kh* on the subject "come good, come evil, there is an end" are addressed to Naṣru'd-Dīn.

"When the body was bared to the wind of the Jehlum,
that day has passed, O Naṣar.
When we had only thin curry and unsalted vegetables
to eat, that day too has gone, O Naṣar.
When the wife was near and warm clothing covered,
the bed, that day too has gone by, O Naṣar.
When boiled rice and sliced fish were provided for us,
that day also has passed, O Naṣar."[3]
"In those glittering halls of lords [*khān*],
The great were told to shrink back.
I say pretty damsels singing songs there;
They were sweeping the dust with Yak's tails.
There I now observed cotton being sown.
I saw, O Naṣar, thou mightiest also go to see it".[4]

When Shai*kh* Nūru'-Dīn died, Naṣru'd-Dīn succeeded him as the head of the Rishīs at Chrār. It is said that before Naṣru'd-Dīn died, the Shai*kh* appeared to him in a dream and told him that he had done much good work and suffered much

1. *T.H.*, III, p. 135; *T.K.*, p. 105.
2. *T.H.*, III, p. 135. Miskīn says that on hearing the words of the Shai*kh*, Naṣru'd-Dīn threw all four walnuts outside the cave he was living in; *T.K.*, p. 105.
3. Kaul, "A Life of Nand Rishī", *The Indian Antiquary*, LIX, February, 1932, p. 32.
4. Ibid., pp. 30-1. See also *Nūr-Nāmā*, pp. 111, 130 (poems 134, 168).

hardship and it was now time for Naṣru'd-Dīn to join him (in the next world). The Shaikh also asked him to entrust the charge of the Rishīs at Chrār to Malik Jogī Raina,[1] who was one of the nobles of the royal court[2] and who used often to visit Nūru'd-Dīn and later Naṣru'd-Dīn.[3]

Naṣru'd-Dīn, in accordance with the command of the Shaikh, approached Malik Jogī who refused to accept the offer. But during the night a sudden change came over him ; he became restless, tore out his clothes and rushed to Naṣru'd-Dīn, who was near death. He nominated Malik Jogī as his successor[4] and soon breathed his last, in 855/1451.[5] He was buried next to his perceptor at Chrār.[6]

Qiyāmu'd-Dīn

Another outstanding disciple of Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīd was Qiyāmu'd-Dīn Rishī.[7] Nothing is known about his early life except that he had no formal education[8] and that right from the very beginning he associated with holy-men.[9] At some stage he came into contact with the Shaikh and became his disciple.[10] After some time, at the direction of Nūru'd-Dīn, he took up his residence at the village of Manzgām,[11] where he established a cell near a spring called Dūdh-Pokar.[12]

1. Miskin at one place calls him Jogī Raina (*T.K.*, p. 105), and at another place Zogī Raina; *T.K.*, p. 114.
2. *A.Ab* , f. 81a; *F.K* , f. 101a; *T.H.*, III, pp. 135, 170; *T.K.*, p. 114.
3. *T.H.*, III, p. 170.
4. *A.Ab.*, f. 81a; *F.K.*, f. 101a; *T.H.*, III, p. 135; *T.K.*, p. 105.
5. *T.H.*, III, p 135; *T.K.*, p. 105.
6. *A.Ab.*, f. 81a; *F.K.*, f. 101a; *T.H.*, III, p. 135; *T.K.*, p. 105.
7. *A.Ab.*, f. 81b; *F.K.*, f. 92b.
8. *R.N.*, f. 183a; *A.Ab.*, f. 82a.
9. Ibid., f. 82a; *F.K.*, f. 92b; *T.H.*, III, p. 136.
10. *R.N.*, f. 182a; *A.Ab.*, f. 82a; *T.Az.*, p. 66; *F.K.*, f. 92b; *T.H.*, III, p. 136; *T.K.*, p. 106.
11. In the modern district of Anantnāg.
12. *R.N.*. f. 182a; *A.Ab.*, f. 82a; *T.Az.*, p. 66; *F.K.*, f. 92b; *T.H* , III, p. 136; *T.K.*, p. 106. It is said that before his arrival there, the place looked like a desert and all the trees and plants were dry. But as soon as he took up his abode there, everything turned green.

Like many other Rishīs, Qiyāmu'd-Dīn fasted regularly and would eat only wild vegetables. Hardships and austere penances, to which he had applied himself, reduced him to skin and bone.[1] When questioned why he reduced himself to this state, Qiyāmu'd-Dīn burst into tears and said : "I am not literate enough to teach or guide anyone; I have not read the Qur'ān; if I could, I might draw near to God. What other form of worship remains, but to enfeeble myself, to abandon food, and to practise austerities ? Thus I might move God to forgive me my sins."[2]

After many years of such a life, Qiyāmu'd-Dīn died at Manzgām, and was buried there.[3] None of the sources mention the date of his death, and it is possible only to speculate that he outlived his *pīr*.

Disciples of Bāmu'd-Dīn

One of the distinguished disciples of Bāmu'd-Dīn was Shamsu'd-Dīn.[4] He hailed from Maru-Wardwan.[5] Nothing is known about his early life and how and when he came into contact with Bāmu'd-Dīn. However, after completing the preliminary stages of the Rishī path, he settled down at a village.[6]

1. *R.N.*, f. 183a; *A.Ab.*, f. 82a; *T.Az.*, p. 66; *F.K.*, f. 92b; *T.H.*, III, p. 136; *T.K.*, p. 106.

2. *R.N.*, f. 183a.

3. Ibid., f. 183a; *A.Ab.*, f. 82a; *T.Az.*, p. 66; *F.K.*, f, 92b; *T.H.*, III, p. 136; *T.K.*, p. 106.

4. *T.Ks.*, f. 42b; *R.N.*, f. 305a; *A.Ab.*, f. 85b; *K.S.*, f. 52a; *T.Az.*, p. 69; *F.K.*, f. 93b; *T.H.*, III, p. 148.

5. *T.Ks.*, f. 42b; *K.N.*, f. 305a; *A.Ab.*, f. 85b; *T.Az.*, p. 69; *F.K.*, f. 93b; *T.H.*, III, p, 148. Maru-Wardwan is in the area which form s the easternier front of Kashmīr, and at present is in the district of Anantnāg.

6. The sources are not unanimous about the name of the village. Saiyid 'Alī (*T.Ks.*, f. 42b) gives the name of the village as "Kru", Naṣīb and Wahhāb (*R.N.*, f. 305a; *F.K.*, f. 93b) "Krūhin", Mishkātī and Ḥasan (*A.Ab.*, f. 85b; *T.H.*, III, p. 148) "Kraiwan" and A'zamī (*T.Az.*, p. 69) "Krūr". Of all these places only Krūhin can be iden-

continued

in the *pargana* of Kuthār.[1]

Shamsu'd-Dīn is believed to have starved himself to a skelton.[2] It is said that he was so feeble that he could not sit down or rise up and therefore used to lie all the time in a wooden box.[3] Mishkātī relates an amusing anecdote which perhaps explains the assertions of Shamsu'd-Dīn. Once when asked why he spent all his time in the box, Shamsu'd-Dīn replied : "I do it so that I may avoid any contact with the world, from the moment of leaving my mother's tomb until I am placed in my grave. Thus I shall pass uncontaminated from this world to the next."

Although no mention is made of Shamsu'd-Dīn's disciples, a miracle, differently told by the sources, suggests that he had the reputation of preserving his disciples from all calamities. It is said that once one of his disciples went to Tibet with the royal army. Somehow his wife came to know that he was dead. She came to Shamsu'd-Dīn who told her that she need not worry, as her husband was safe. But this simple explanation did not satisfy her. Shamsu'd-Dīn unwillingly told her that he was himself protecting her husband and asked her not to reveal this to anyone. When she returned home, she disclosed it. This made Shamsu'd-Dīn angry and he moved to the village of Tarighm in the *pargana* Divasar[5] (in the modern district of Ahantnāg). It was there that he breathed his

tified but that is in the district of Bārāmūla. However, it seems certain that Shāmsu'd-Dīn had settled down at some village in the district of Anantnāg.

1. *T.Ks.*, f. 42b; Kutahār is to the east of Anantnāg.
2. *T.Ks.*, f. 42b; *R.N.*, 305b; *A.Ab.*, f. 85b; *K.S.*, f. 52a; *T.Az.*, p. 69; *F.K.*, f. 94a; *T.H.*, III, p. 148.
3. Ibid. The sources have the word *tābūt* ("coffin or bier").
4. *A.Ab.*, f. 85b.
5. *T.Ks.*, f. 42b; *R.N.*, ff. 305b-306a; *K.S.*, f. 52a; *T.Az.*, p. 69; *F.K.*, ff. 93b-94a; *T.H.*, III, p. 148. Mishkātī says once one of the disciples of Shamsu'd-Dīn was travelling in Tibet, where he fell into the hands of robbers. Thereupon he thought of Shamsu'd-Dīn and prayed. Shamsu'd-Dīn miraculously appeared and saved him; *A.Ab.*, f. 85b.

last.[1]

Another disciple of Bāmu'd-Dīn was Ḥanīfu'd-Dīn Ḥaidar.[2] He was a native of the village of Akhāl, in the *pargana* of Lār.[3] He is said to have been very rich.[4] Later when he came into contact with Bāmu'd-Dīn, he renounced the world and became his disciple.[5] After serving his preceptor for some years, Ḥanīfu'd-Dīn went to the village of Yār (in the *pargana* of Lār), where he lived alone in a cell.[6] After some time he moved to his native village, Akhāl, where he stayed in the house of a disciple.[7]

We are told that Ḥanīfu'd-Dīn was very handsome, and a woman of the family with whom he was staying desired him. One day, when the family had to attend a feast, she made a pretext to stay at home and when they were alone she threw herself at Ḥanīfu'd-Dīn. He tried to impress upon her the wickedness of her desire, in vain. Desperate, he thrust his penis into the glowing coals of a brazier, and became unconscious.[8] When he recovered, he left for Yār,[9] where he died on

1. *T.Ks.*, f. 42b; *R.N.*, f. 306b; *K.S*, f. 52a; *T.Az.*, p. 70; *F K.*, f. 94a; *T.H.*, III, p. 149. Mishkātī also says that he died at Tarigām (*A.Ab.*, f. 85b), but does not give any reason for Shamsu'd-Dīn's migration to that village.
2. *T.Ks.*, f. 43a; *R.N.*, f. 306 b; *A.Ab.*, f. 84b; *T.Az.*, p. 71; *F.K.*, f. 94a; *T.H.*, III, p. 149; *T.K.*, p. 112.
3. Ibid.
4. *A.Ab.*, f. 84b; *T.H.*, III, p. 149; *T.K.*, p. 112.
5. *T.Ks.*, f. 43a; *R.N.*, f. 306b; *A.Ab.*, f. 84b; *T.Az.*, p. 71; *F.K.*, f. 94a; *T.H.*, III, p. 149; *T.K.*, p. 112.
6. *R.N.*, f. 306b; *F.K.*, f. 94a; *T.K*, p. 112. Saiyid 'Alī and Mishkātī believe that he moved to Akhāl (*T.Ks.*, f. 43a; *A.Ab.*, 84b), and Ḥasan says that he moved to the village of Surach (*T.H.*, III, p. 149). But this place cannot be identified and Ḥasan himself, does not mention it in the volume in which he describes the geography of Kashmīr (*T.H*, I).
7. *R.N.*, f, 307a; *F.K.*, f. 94a; *T.H*, III, p. 149; *T.K.*, p. 112.
8. *T.Ks.*, f 43a; *R.N.*, f. 307a-b; *A.Ab.*, ff. 84b-85a; *F.K.*, f. 94a; *T.H.*, III, p. 149; *T.K*, p. 112.
9. *R.N.*, f. 307b; *T.H.*, III, p. 150; *T.K.*, p. 112.
Mishkātī and Wahhāb say that he moved to Akhāl (*A.Ab.*, f.

Contd.

7 Jumādu'l-Auwal, 890/22 May, 1485.[1]

Rajabu'd-Dīn Mīr was another prominent disciple of Bāmu'd-Dīn.[2] It is said that he and his two brothers, *Sh*aukat Mīr and Fa*kh*ru'd-Dīn Mīr,[3] were intimate companions of the ruler of the time[4] and thus used to live a life of ease and merriment.[5] One day, the legend goes, they met Bāmu'd-Dīn on the road, and told him to carry their jug of wine home for them and serve it. But every cup he poured turned to milk. They asked who he was, and on hearing that Bāmu'd-Dīn, a holy man, was among them, renounced their old ways and became his disciples.[6]

No further details are available about the two brothers of Rajabu'd-Dīn. He, however, is said to have applied himself to great spiritual penances under the direction of Bāmu'd-Dīn.[7] Later he settled down at the mountain of Nāgnāran in Martand, where he lived until his death.[8]

Some sources tell us that he kept himself busy in reciting the Qur'ān, and used to earn his livelihood by copying it.[9] If

Contd.

84b; *F.K.*, f. 94a). But earlier Mishkātī held that Ḥanīfu'd-Dīn had shifted to Akhāl, as soon as he left his preceptor (see supra p. 236, n. 7). And Wahhāb's statement is also contradictory. Earlier he states that Ḥanīfu'd-Dīn moved from Yār to Akhāl (see supra, p. 236. n. 8) where this incident took place. Naṣīb, Ḥasan and Miskīn, therefore, seem to be correct in stating that Ḥanīfu'd-Dīn moved to Yār from Akhāl.

1. *T.H.*, III, p. 150; *T.K.*, p. 112.
2. *T.Ks.*, f. 40b; *R.N.*, f. 297b; *A.Ab.*, f. 82b; *K.S.*, f. 52b; *T.Az.*, p. 70; *F.K.*, f. 94a; *T.H.*, III, p. 143; *T.K.*, p. 110.
3. *A.Ab.*, f. 82b; *T.Az.*, p. 70; *T.H.*, III, pp. 143, 144, *T.K.*, pp. 110, 111. Naṣīb and Wahhāb mention only Rajabu'd-Dīn and *Sh*aukat; *R.N.*, f. 297b; *F.K.*, f. 94a.
4. *R.N.*, f. 298a; *F.K.*, f. 94a.

   A'zamī says that they had migrated to Kashmīr from Persia and does not clearly mention their occupation (*T.Az.*, p. 70). However, Ḥasan asserts that they were military officers; *T.H.*. III, p. 143.
5. *R.N.*, f. 298a; *F.K.*, f. 94a; *T.H.*, III, p. 143.
6. Ibid.
7. *R.N.*, f. 297b; *A.Ab.*, f. 82b; *T.Az.*, p. 70; *F.K.*, f. 94a; *T.H.*, III, p. 144; *T.K.*, p. 110.
8. Ibid.
9. *R.N.*, f. 297b; *A.Ab.*, f. 82b; *T.Az.*, p. 71; *T.K.*, p. 110.

the account is correct, it makes the life of Rajabu'd-Dīn unusual, for no earlier Rishī is known to have concerned himself with the Qur'ān.

Rajabu'd-Dīn is said to have had many disciples, among whom the most distinguished was Naurūz Rishī.[1] He is believed to have been handsome and attractive and had been asked by his preceptor not to move about.[2] One day, without the knowledge of Rajabu'd-Dīn,[3] Naurūz went to a certain village with some other Rishīs. There a girl saw him and she fell in love with him.[4] When Rajabu'd-Dīn learnt about this, he ordered him to leave. Naurūz, disappointed and disgusted, decided to go on a pilgrimage. He went to the village of Gaurīgām[5] to seek monetary help from one of his friends, Sānī Paṇḍit, who asked Naurūz to stay in his house, as pilgrimage was not obligatory for a man as poor as he was. So Naurūz remained in Sānī's house for about six years, while his former associates knew nothing about him.[6]

When Rajabu'd-Dīn was dying, his disciples asked him to nominate his successor. Rajabu'd-Dīn told them he would be found at the village of Gaurīgām in the house of Sānī Paṇḍit. When Rajabu'd-Dīn was buried, some of his disciples came to Gaurīgām and asked Naurūz to return to Nāgnāran to take the

1. *T.Ks.*, f. 41a; *R.N.*, f. 298a; *A.Ab.*, f. 82b; *K.S.*, f. 53a; *F.K.*, f. 94a; *T.H.*, III, p. 145; *T.K.*, p. 111.
2. *T.Ks.*, f. 41a; *R.N.*, f. 298a; *A.Ab.*, f. 82b; *T.H.*, III, p. 145; *T.K.*, p. 111.
3. *A.Ab.*, f. 282p; *T.H.*, III, p. 145.
   Saiyid 'Alī and Naṣīb maintain that Naurūz went with the permission of Rajabu'd-Dīn (*T.Ks.*, f. 41a; *R.N.*, f. 298a). But this seems wrong as Rajab would not have then later asked him to leave. Miskīn says a girl fell in love with Naurūz, but he does not record the name of the place; cf. *T.K.*, p. 111.
4. *T.Ks.*, f. 41a; *R.N.*, f. 298a-b; *A.Ab.*, ff. 82b-83a; *T.H.*, III, 145.
5. This village cannot be identified. Although Ḥasan mentions it in the portion of his work devoted to the Saints of Kashmīr, but fails to notice it in the geographical portion of his work.
6. *T.Ks.*, f. 41a; *R.N.*, ff. 298b, 299a; *A.Ab.*, f. 83a; *T.H.*, III, p. 145.
   Mullā, who does not relate this story, says that Naurūz had the permission of Rajabu'd-Dīn to go on the pilgrimage, but he stayed at Sānī's house instead; *K.S.*, f. 53a-b.

seat of his preceptor, which he did.[1]

Meanwhile his patron Sānī Panḍit was falsely accused by the villagers of corrupt dealings in his official duties. He asked the help of Naurūz Rishī, who returned to Gaurīgām and asked the villagers to drop the charge. They agreed on condition that before sunset, a feast be served and that Naurūz take part in that. As Naurūz used to fast continuously, they might have thought he would refuse. But he agreed and the feast was prepared. When it was ready, he stayed in the mosque, remaining there even after the sun had gone down. The villagers rejoiced at his failure to fulfil the condition. But when he heard of it, he came out and said : "The sun is still up." To their surprise the sun appeared again, and Naurūz bowed down on the ground and breathed his last,[2] and was buried there in the village of Gaurīgām.[3]

Among the disciples of Naurūz Rishī is mentioned Hardī Rishī, who succeeded him as the head of the Rishīs at Nāgnāran.[4] Contrary to the accepted practice, Hardī Rishī urged his disciples to earn their own livelihood.[5] He directed them to take up agriculture, saying that if they had not the strength to do much, they could at least cultivate daily an area the size of his prayer-carpet.[6]

1. *R.N.*, f. 299b; *A.Ab.*, f. 83b; *K.S.*, f. 53b; *T.H.*, III, p. 145.
   Saiyid 'Alī maintains that Rajab was still alive when Naurūz returned; *T.Ks.*, f. 41a-b.
2. *R.N.*, ff. 299b-300a; *A.Ab.*, f. 83b; *R.K.*, f. 94a-b; *K.S.*, f. 53b.
   Ḥasan says that when the sun appeared once again, the people fell at his feet and after the feast was served, Naurūz offered evening prayer and died while still in *sijda* (prostration); *T.H.*, III, pp. 145-6. Saiyīd 'Alī, however, maintains that he went to Gaurīgām at the invitation of Sānī Panḍit and does not relate the tale of Sānī being charged by the villagers; *T.Ks.*, f. 41b.
3. Ibid., f. 41b; *K.S.*, f. 53b; *F.K.*, f. 94b. Ḥasan says that Naurūz was buried at Nāgnāran (*T.H.*, III, p. 146), which means that his dead body was carried to Nāgnāran.
4. *T.Ks.*, f. 41b; *R.N.*, f. 301a; *A.Ab.*, ff. 83b-84a; *K.S.*, f. 53b; *F.K.*, f. 94b; *R.Nm.*, f. 80b; *T.H.*, III, p. 146; *T.K.*, pp. 111-2.
5. *R.N.*, f. 301a; *A.Ab.*, f. 84a; *F.K.*, f. 94b; *R.Nm.*, f. 80b; *T.H.*, III, p. 146; *T.K.*, p. 112.
6. *R.N.*, f. 301a; *A.Ab.*, f. 84a; *F.K.*, f. 94b.

Hardī Rishī is said to have lived for seven years after the death of his preceptor,[1] and when he died he was buried at Nāgnāran.[2] Among his prominent disciples was Nandī Rishī.[3] As usual, nothing is known about his early life; he lived in solitude at Nāgnāran for many years,[4] making it his practice not to show his face to any woman,[5] not even his sister.[6]

Once when Nandī Rishī had nothing to eat,[7] one of his disciples asked what was to be done. Nandī replied: "Wash the kettle and put in clean water." When the water began to boil, Nandī asked the disciple to wait at the door and watch. Suddenly a woman arrived, accompanied by six men loaded with articles of food.[8] She urged the disciple to allow her to enter and speak to Nandī from outside the door of his cell. She came in and told Nandī that she had something to say to him. He answered : "Gracious mother, the holy law forbids men to hear the voice of women, but it is unkind to refuse the request of anyone in need". The woman said : "I own some land which I have vowed to give you as a gift". Nandī Rishī declined to accept it, saying : "We are Rishīs, relying upon God for sustenance". The woman begged him to use it to satisfy the needs of his visitors. Nandī Rishī was still unmoved, but his disciples urged him to take it, saying : "Although we have no need of this land ourselves, not all human beings are alike. Who knows how future generations (of Rishīs) will act ? If

1. *R.N.*, f. 301a; *A.Ab.*, f. 84a; *K.S.*, f. 53b; *T.H.*, III, p. 146.
2. *T.Ks.*, f. 41b; *K.S.*, f. 54a; *T.H.*, III, p. 146; *T.K.*, p. 112.
3. *T.Ks.*. f. 41b; *R.N.*, f. 301a; *A.Ab.*, f. 84a; *K.S.*, f. 54a; *F.K.*, f. 94b; *R.Nm.*, f. 80b. Ḥasan and Miskīn say that he was the disciple of Naurūz Rishī; *T.H.*, III, p. 146; *T.K.*, p. 111.
4. The sources say that he remained in solitude for about 54 years; *R.N.*, f. 301b; *A.Ab.*, f. 84a; *R.Nm.*, f. 81a; *T.H.*, III, p. 147.
5. *T.Ks.*, f. 41b; *R.N.*, f. 301b; *A.Ab.*, f. 84a; *R.Nm* , f. 81a; *T.H.*, III. p. 147.
6. *R.N.*, f. 301b; *R.Nm.*, f. 81a; *T.H.*, III, p. 147.
7. This would mean that after the death of Hardī his disciples had given up tilling the land or earning their livelihood themselves.
8. The purpose of Nandī's asking the disciple to boil the water is not clear. Presumably the incident of the kettle is introduced to emphasize the virtue of patience.

you accept the land no harm could follow, for the land which this gracious lady is offering her own absolute property, settled upon her at her marriage (*mahr*). The Rishīs who will live here in future would be benefited by your present kindness. Supporting themselves with the produce of this land, they would be able to devote themselves to God without any worry".[1]

Nandī Rishī was impressed by the arguments put forward by his disciples, and accepted the gift.[2] Before he died, Nandī Rishī appointed Bābā Ḥājī Rishī as his successor.[3] The story of the Bābā's appointment is presented as an illustration of Nandī Rishī's reputed powers of clairvoyance.

It is said that once Bābā Ḥājī offended his preceptor and was expelled from the order. He departed so quickly that he left a plate of food uneaten in his cell. Eventually he went on pilgrimage to Mecca, and when he returned to Kashmīr, he resolved to visit Nandī Rishī disguised as a yogī.[4]

Meanwhile Nandī Rishī was telling his disciples that the man of the hour (*sāḥib--i-hangām*) was about to arrive and succeed him. When Bābā Ḥājī called, his disguise was seen through, Nandī Rishī told him to stop playing the fool, clean himself up and go and sit in his old cell.[5]

The Bābā was astonished to find in his cell the very plate of food he had left so long ago, still quite fresh.[6] He showed it to the other Rishīs. Nandī Rishī was displeased and told the Bābā that he had committed a grave error by disclosing a Divine secret and predicted that he would be punished by many trials and finally go blind.[7]

1. *R.N.*, f. 302a-b; *F.K.*, f. 94b; *R.Nm.*, f. 81a-b; see also *T.H.*, III, p. 147; *T.K.*, p. 111.
2. *R.N.*, f. 302b; *F.K.*, 94b; *R.Nm.*, f. 81b; *T.H.*, III, p. 147; *T.K.*, p. 111.
3. *R.N.*, f. 303a; *A.Ab.*, f. 84a; *F.K.*, f. 91b; *R.Nm* , f. 83a; *T.H.*, III, p. 147. See also *T,Ks.*, f. 41b; *K.S* , f. 54a-b; *T.K.*, p. 111.
4. *R.N.*, ff. 303b-304a; *F.K.*, f. 94b; *T.H.*, III, pp. 147-8.
5. Ibid.
6. The story is based upon similar anecdotes told of the Prophet's *mi'rāj*.
7. *R.N.*, f. 304b; *F.K.*, f. 94b; *T.H.*, III, p. 148.

Shortly afterwards, Nandī Rishī died, and was buried at Nāgnāran.[1] As he had foreseen, he was succeeded by Bābā Ḥājī, "who kept his sight for two years and lived (another) eighteen months in darkness".[2]

Not long after his preceptor's death, Bābā Ḥājī, was involved in serious embarrassment. Some men approached his servant and told him that a calamity had befallen them and they would like to leave their belongings in safe custody with him. The servant, not realising that the goods were stolen and the men were thieves, accepted the goods. But when the officers of the watch finally traced them, they interrogated Bābā Ḥājī, who denied all knowledge of the affair. His servant, however, revealed that he had accepted some property for safe custody, and the officers identified it as the stolen goods were seeking. Forthwith they arrested the Bābā and were taking him away when they were attacked by a herd of cows which he had reared. They were seriously injured and the Bābā returned unhurt to his abode.[3] The officers complained to the king, who was familiar with the reputation of the Rishīs. He merely said : "It is a wonder that the cows did not kill you."[4]

When Bābā Ḥājī died, he was buried at Nāgnāran.[5] It seems that his disciples may have broken up; no successor is known, and the line of Bāmu'd-Dīn appears to have ended with him.

Disciples of Zainu'd-Dīn

Zainu'd-Dīn, the disciple of Nūru'd-Dīn, had a large band of followers; the most prominent among them were the following.

Payāmu'd-Dīn, who hailed from the village of Chandnu,

1. Ibid., f. 304b; ibid., f. 94b; ibid., III, p. 148.
2. *R.N.*, f. 304b. See also *F.K.*, f. 94b; *T.H.*, III, p. 148.
3. *R.N.*, f. 305a; *K.S.*, f. 54b; *F.K.*, f. 94b; *R. Nm.*, f. 83a-b; *T.H.*, III, p. 148.
4. *R.N.*, f. 305a; *R.Nm.*, f. 83b.
5. *R.N.*, f. 305a; *F.K.*, f. 94b; *R.Nm.*, f. 83a; *T.H.*, III, p. 149.

pargana Lār,[1] is said to have been one of the nobles of the ruler of Kashmīr.[2] Once while hunting, he observed ants carrying grain to their stores, and he became impressed with the necessity of laying up stores for the "life to come" and accordingly bade farewell to the world and worldly things and became a disciple of Zainu'd-Dīn.[3]

After serving his preceptor for many years, Payámu'd-Dīn was ordered to settle down in the forest of Ranbūh,[4] where he spent the rest of his life.[5] He died in 889/1484.[6] It is said that before he became a Rishī, his wife was pregnant and later gave birth to a son. When he grew older, he turned a debauchee. Once it happened that Payāmu'd-Dīn was passing through a certain village, where he heard some women telling one another how notorious his son was. On hearing them, Payāmu'd-Dīn prayed that if this was true, his son might die. His prayers were immediately answered and his son died.[7]

Another disciple of Zainu'd-Dīn was Uttar Thākur. He is said to have been the son of a chief (*sardār-zāda*)[8] and a descendant of Thākur family.[9] It is said that for a time he became a madman and used to roam from place to place naked. His parents approached Zainu'd-Dīn, who sent one of his

1. *T.Ks.*, f. 46b; *R.N.*, f. 303a; *T.Az.*, p. 69; *T.H.*, III, p. 152.
   It is not possible to identify the village of Chandnu; Lār, however, is the ancient "Lahara", see supra, Ch. I, p. 10.
2. *T.Ks.*, f. 46b; *A.Ab.*, f. 88a-b; *T.Az.*, p. 69; *F.K.*, f. 96b; *T.H.*, III, p. 152; *T.K.*, pp. 112-3.
3. *T.Ks.*, f. 46b; *A.Ab.*, f. 88a-b; *T.Az.*, p. 69; *F.K.*, f. 96b; *T.H.*, III, p. 152; *T.K.*, pp. 112-3.
4. This forest is in the *pargana* Bangil, the ancient "Bhangila"; cf. *R.Tk.*, II, p. 481.
5. *T.Ks.*, 46b; *R.N.*, f. 308b; *A.Ab.*, f. 88b; *T.Az.*, p. 69; *F.K.*, f. 96b; *R.Nm.*, f. 103b; *T.H.*, III, p. 152; *T.K.*, p. 113.
6. *T.H.*, III, p. 152.
   Miskīn gives the date of his death as 890/1485; *T.K.*, p. 113.
7. *T.Ks.*, f. 47b; *R.N.*, ff. 308b-309a; *R.Nm.*, f. 104a; *T.H.*, III, p. 152.
8. *T.Az.*, p. 72. Mullā says that he was one of the nobles of the ruler; *K.S.*, f. 43a.
9. *T.Az.*, p. 72; *T.H.*, III, p. 162; *T.K.*, p. 121. "Thākur", according to Miskīn (*T.K.*, p. 121), was the title given to the tribal chiefs. Kalhaṇa mentions at many places the title of Thākur given to various councillors; cf. *R.Tk.*, I, pp. 292, 324.

disciples to fetch him. When he was told that Zainu'd-Dīn wanted him, he asked for clothes, came to Zainu'd-Dīn's hermitage and stayed with him for the rest of his life.[1] He lies buried at 'Aish-Maqām.[2]

Shamsu'd-Dīn was another disciple of Zainu'd-Dīn. Nothing is known about his early life and the circumstances of his conversion. It is said that once he sought and obtained his preceptor's leave to go to Mecca. There he met a saint, whose disciple he sought to become. The saint asked for details of Shamsu'd-Dīn's earlier spiritual life, and was told that his preceptor had been an illiterate Kashmīrī named Zainu'd-Dīn. The saint then told him to wait till next morning; during the night, Zainu'd-Dīn made his usual spiritual visit to Mecca[3] and introduced himself to the saint as Shamsu'd-Dīn's preceptor. Next day the saint miraculously caused a vision of Zainu'd-Dīn at prayer to appear before Shamsu'd-Dīn. Praising his virtues, he said "Go back to Kashmīr, and serve your old master."

When Shamsu'd-Dīn returned to Kashmīr, he asked audience of Zainu'd-Dīn. The latter, who knew supernaturally of Shamsu'd-Dīn's disparaging remark about him made to the saint in Mecca, was displeased with him, and merely said : "May his foot be broken", which happened immediately, as Shamsu'd-Dīn slipped. However, other disciples of Zainu'd-Dīn interceded for Shamsu'd-Dīn and Zainu'd-Dīn was pleased to return him to his favour and to restore the use of his

1. *A.Ab.*, f. 89b; *T.Az.*, p. 72; *F.K.*, f. 96b; *T.H.*, III, p. 162; *T.K.*, p. 121.

According to Mullā, Zainu'd-Dīn once happened to meet Uttar Thākur and was pleased with him. He prayed that Thākur might give up worldly pleasures. Zainu'd-Dīn's prayers were answered and Uttar Thākur gave up the world and used to roam in the forests till Zainu'd-Dīn sent some one to fetch him; *K.S.*, f. 43a-b.

2. *A.Ab.*, f. 89b; *K.S.*, f. 43b; *T.Az.*, p. 72; *F.K.*, f. 96b; *T.H.*, III, p. 162; *T.K.*, p. 121.

3. See supra, p. 225.

foot.[1] Shamsu'd-Dīn served him loyally until he died, and succeeded him as his kh*alīfa* after his death.[2]

Another disciple of Zainu'd-Dīn was Ḥanīfu'd-Dīn. After completing the early stages of the Rishī path, he was ordered to settle down on the mauntain of Dārā, in the *pargana* Manch*a*hom.[3] There he stayed for many years in a cave, without the knowledge of the people of the surrounding villages ; and used to eat wild vegetables for his food.[4]

It is said that once a shepherd saw Ḥanīfu'd-Dīn in his cave and informed the villagers of his presence. They rushed to his cave and requested him to come out. Ḥanīfu'd-Dīn appeared in the form of a strong and huge snake. The villagers were frightened, but begged him to show himself in his true form, which he did.[5] Later he enrolled many people as his disciples and directed them to the Rishī path. When he died, he was buried on the mountain Dārā.[6]

1. *R.N.*, ff. 292b-293a; *K.S.*, f. 45a; *F.K.*, f. 96a-b; *T.H.*, III, p. 151.
2. Ibid., f. 293b; ibid., f. 45a; ibid., f 96b; ibid., pp. 151-2.
3. *T.Ks.*, f. 44a; *R.N.*, f. 314b; *A.Ab.*, f. 91a; *T.Az.*, p. 73; *F.K.*, f. 97a; *R.Nm.*, f. 92a; *T.H.*, III, p. 154; *T.K.*, p. 116.

   Mullā at one place says that he settled at Manigām in the *pargana* Lār (*K.S.*, f. 45a), and at another place at Manch*a*hom; *K.S.*, f. 49a.
4. *T.Az.*, p. 73; *T.H.*, III, p. 154; *T.K.*, p. 116.
5. *T.Ks.*, ff. 44b-45a; *R.N.*, f. 315a-b; *A.Ab.*, f. 91a-b; *T.Az.*, p. 73; *F.K.*, f. 97a; *R.Nm.*, f. 92a-b; *T.H.*, III, p. 154; *T.K.*, p. 116.

   Mullā tells the story differently. According to him a woman came to know about Ḥanīfu'd-Dīn's presence there and she used often to visit him. The villagers became suspicious of her and one day they followed her and found Ḥanīfu'd-Dīn's in a cave. Thinking he was a thief and had some affair with the woman, they brought him out of the cave and gave him a good beating. Later when they returned to their village, the *muqaddam* (chief) suddenly died. The villagers were convinced that they had done something wrong and that Ḥanīfu'd-Dīn was in fact a holy man. They came to him and asked for pardon and for the life of their chief. Ḥanīfu'd-Dīn was moved by their appeal and acceded to their request; *K.S.*, f. 45a-b.
6. *T.Ks.*, f. 45b; *R.N.*, f. 315b; *A.Ab.*, f. 91b; *T.Az.*, p. 73; *F.K.*, f. 97a; *T.H.*, III, p. 154; *T.K.*, p. 116.

Daryāu'd-Dīn, after becoming the disciple of Zainu'd-Dīn and serving him for some time, was allowed to settle down anywhere he liked. He travelled far and wide in the Valley and later settled in a cave at the village Ranyil,[1] in the *pargana* Phāk.[2] It is said that he observed fast throughout his life and would break it only once a week.[3]

The death of Daryāu'd-Dīn is described almost in the same terms as that of his preceptor, Zainu'd-Dīn. Before his death, Daryaū'd-Dīn entered his cave and asked his disciples not to disturb him for forty days. He further asked them to prepare food on the fortieth day, and told them after distributing this among the poor, they should go into the cave to see him. The disciples did accordingly and when they entered the cave, they found no trace of Daryāu'd-Dīn, except his garment and cap. Later he appeared in a dream to one of his disciples and asked him to mark a grave in his name, just above the cave.[4]

Another disciple of Zainu'd-Dīn was Lidā-Mal Rishī. Nothing is known about the circumstances of his conversion to the Rishī path. It is said that after receiving guidance from his preceptor for some time at 'Aish-Maqām, he moved to the village Uttar,[5] where he stayed in the hollow of a *chanar* tree.[6] But it seems that he had established a kh*ānqāh*

1. The sources give the name of the village as "Ranal", which cannot be identified. The only village of a similar name which can be located in the *pargana* Phāk (north of Srīnagar) is Ranyil; cf. *R.Tk.*, II, p. 456.
2. *T.Ks.*, f. 45b; *R.N.*, f. 317b; *A.Ab.*, f. 87a; *T.Az.*, p. 71; *F.K.*, f. 96b; *T.H.*, III, p. 153; *T.K.*, p. 115.
3. *T.Ks.*, f. 46a; *R.N.*, f. 317b; *A.Ab.*, f. 87a-b; *F.K.*, ff. 96-97a; *T.H.*, III, p. 153; *T.K.*, p. 115.
4. *R.N.*, ff. 317b, 318a; *A.Ab.*, f. 88a; *T.Az.*, p. 71; *F.K.*, f. 97a; *T.H.*, III, p. 153; *T.K.*, p. 115.
5. The *pargana* Uttar forms the extreme north-west of the Kashmīr Valley. According to Kalhaṇa its ancient name was "Uttara"; cf. *R.Tk.*, II. p. 485.
6. *R.N.*, 318a; *A.Ab.*, f. 89a; *K.S.*, f. 46a; *F.K.*. f. 98a.

Saiyid 'Alī (*T.Ks.*, f. 47b), says the moved to Sherkoot, (the ancient "Sudarkoṭh", in between the *pārgana* Khuyahom and Zaīngīr); cf. *R.Tk.*, II, pp. 467-88.

there, as we are told that he had as many as one hundred and sixty disciples, all of whom were engaged in agriculture.[1] Some of his recorded sayings show that Lidā-Mal was a man of great piety high thinking. He is said to have once remarked : "One is not in solitude if one thinks of a beautiful woman; one is not fasting if one waits (eagerly) throughout the day for dusk (when the fast is to be broken) ; and one is not a *darwesh* if one goes daily for easing nature (*mustarāḥ*)."[2]

Many springs are attributed to the miraculous power of Lidā-Mal. It is said that when he went to Uttar, there was no water nearby. He received a hint from on high to uproot a plant near the *chanar* tree, in which he is believed to have lived. He did so accordingly and water started to flow.[3] It is believed that if any sick person, especially one who has stomach trouble, takes a bath in that spirit, he is cured at once.[4]

The second spring attributed to the miraculous powers of Lidā-Mal is at Dandakwan,[5] when he moved from Uttar.[6] There also water was not available. Lidā-Mal is said to have struck his stick into the ground and after some time to have asked one of his disciples to take it out. But he warned the disciple to be cautious, and not to let the first few drops of water fall on his feet. In spite of this warning some drops of water fell on one of the disciple's feet and he became a leper. Later Lidā-Mal prayed for him and he was cured.[7]

1. *R.N.*, f. 318a; *A.Ab.*, f. 88b; *F.K.*, f. 98a; *T.H.*, III, p. 160; *T.K.*, p. 119. According to Mattū, Lidā-Mal four hundred disciples; *R.Nm.*, f. 105a.
2. *A.Ab.*, f. 98b.
3. *R.N.*, f. 318b; *A.Ab.*, f. 89a; *K.S.*, f. 46a; *F.K.*, f. 98a; *R.Nm.*, 45a-b; *T.K.*, p. 119.
4. *R.N.*, f. 318b; *F.K.*, f. 98a.
5. Near the village of Sherkoot.
6. *R.N.*, f. 319a; *A.Ab.*, f. 89a; *F.K.*, f. 98a; *T.H.*, III, p. 121.
7. *R.N.*, f. 319b; *A.Ab.*, f. 89a; *F.K.*, f. 98a; *R.Nm.*, f. 105b; *T.H.*, III, p. 161; *T.K.*, p. 119. The legend refers to a widespread Kashmīrī superstition that the first water drawn from a new well is very dangerous and should not be drunk or used for washing.

Before his death Lidā-Mal is said to have made a will that nothing should be raised over his grave, as the Almighty God would provide shelter for him. When he died, his disciples in accordance with his wish, did not build a memorial over his grave. After forty days a plant appeared on his grave, and later on covered the whole graveyard.[1] His mausoleum at Handwanpura, in *pargana* Ḥamal,[2] where he settled towards the end of his life, was built in 1149/1736, and is still a source of inspiration for many people.[3]

Among the disciples of Lidā-Mal the best known are Langar-Mal and his wife Bībī Ganga. It is believed that Langar-Mal was very rich and deeply involved in worldly pleasures.[4] He is said in some sources to have been Lidā-Mal's brother. Once he came to see Lidā-Mal,[5] dressed in a costly garment. Lidā-Mal refused to see him, saying that one who loved worldly things had nothing to do with him. Langar-Mal went back, but, moved by the remark of Lidā-Mal, gave up the world, returned to Lidā-Mal dressed as a yogī,[6] and became his disciple.[7]

Lidā-Mal asked him to retire to seclusion, so that he could purify himself of his past sins.[8] Meanwhile Langar-Mal's wife, Bībī Gangā, came to enquire about her husband.[9] On

1. *T.H.*, II, p. 161; *T.K.*, p. 119.
2. The ancient "Samāla" adjoins the *pargana*, Kruhin; *R.Tk.*, II, p. 484.
3. *T.K.*, p. 119. Some other sources say that towards the end of his life he settled at Bucherwārī, which cannot be identified; *R.N.*, f. 320a; *A.Ab.*, f. 89a.
4. *R.N.*, f. 318b; *F.K.*, 98b; *R.Nm.*, f. 105b; *T.H.*, III, p. 160; *T.K.* p. 119.
5. *R.N.*, f. 318b; *R.Nm.*, f. 106a. Miskīn says that Langar-Mal was a Hindu and later accepted Islam at the hands of Lidā-Mal (*T.K.*, p. 119). But Naṣīb and Mattū seem to be correct as their common sir-name "Mal" suggests that they were brothers.
6. *F.K.*, f. 98b.
7. *R.N.*, f. 318b; *F.K.*, f. 98b; *R.Nm.*, f. 105a; *T.H.*, III, p. 161.
8. *R.N.*, ff. 318b-319a.
9. *R.N.*, f. 319a; *F.K.*, f. 98b; *R.Nm.*, f. 106b.
   Ḥasan and Miskīn say that she had renounced the world along with her husband; *T.H.*, III, p. 161; *T.K.*, p. 119.

hearing that he had renounced the world, she too became Lidā-Mal's disciple.[1] Both Langar-Mal and Bībī Gangā are said to have lived a life of great piety and devotion. Langar-Mal is said to have kept the fast until he died and would break it only with ginger.[2] Bībī Gangā had also overpowered her worldly desires had would break the fast once a year.[3] When they died, they were buried near the grave of their preceptor.[4]

One of the disciples of Zainu'd-Dīn was Shukru'd-Dīn Rishī. He came from the village of Ārat, in the *pargana* of Mānchaḥom.[5] Though he is said to have been a wealthy man,[6] he was given to religious devotion from his youth.[7] He renounced the world and became the disciple of Zainu'd-Dīn.[8] After completing the early stages of the Rishī path, he was asked by his master to settle down at Shankpāl, where he lived a life of recluse for many years.[9]

Like Lidā-Mal, Shukru'd-Dīn is said to have caused many springs to appear, including one at Shankpāl.[10] After some time he moved to Sherkoot,[11] where he lived until his

1. *R.N.*, f. 319a; *F.K.*, f. 98b; *R.Nm.*, ff. 106b-107a.
2. *R.N.*, f. 319a; *F.K.*, f. 98b; *R.Nm.*, f. 106b; *T.H.*, III, p. 161, *T.K.*, p. 119.
3. *F.K.*, f. 98b; *T.H.*, III, p. 161; *T.K.*, p. 119.
4. *R.Nm.*, f. 107a; *T.H.*, III, pp. 161, 162; *T.K.*, pp. 119, 120.
5. *T.Ks.*, f. 43a; *R.N.*, f. 311b; *A.Ab.*, f. 86a; *T.Az.*, p. 71; *F.K.*, f. 97b; *R.Nm.*, f. 89a; *T.H*, III, p. 155; *T.K.*, p. 116.
   Mānchahom the ancient "Mākṣāsrama" is to the south-west of Srīnagar, and to the north of the *pargana* of Biru; cf. *R.Tk.*, II, p. 477.
6. *A.Ab.*, f. 86a; *T.Az.*, p. 71; *F.K.*, f. 97b; *T.H*, III, p. 155; *T.K.*, p. 116.
7. *R.N.*, f. 311b; *A.Ab.*, f. 865; *K.S.*, f. 47a; *F.K.*, f. 97b; *T.H.*, III, p. 155; *T.K.* p. 116.
8. Ibid.
9. *T.Ks.*, f. 43a; *R.N.*, f. 311b; *A.Ab.*, f. 86a; *K.S.*, f. 47a; *F.K.*, f. 97b; *R Nm.*, f. 89a; *T.H.*, III, p. 156; *T.K.*, p. 116.
10. *R.N.*, f. 311b; *K.S.*, f. 47a; *T.H.*, III, p. 156; *T K.*, p. 116.
    According to Mullā the spring is called "Shukrnāg", probably after Shuru'd-Dīn; *K.S.*, f. 47a.
11. Cf. n. 3, p. 250.

death.[1] Like many other Rishīs, Shukru'd-Dīn preferred to live by himself, having no concern with worldly people. It is said that before his death he had prepared a grave for himself, but one day a man who had fled from the city, took refuge in it. When Shukru'd-Dīn came to know about this, he asked his disciples not to bury him in that grave, as a worldly man had put his foot in it. When he died, his disciples prepared another grave for him.[2] His shrine at Sherkoot exists to this day, and it is believed by the surrounding villagers that when a misfortune is about to occur, a sound like that of a canon is heard from it.[3]

Shukru'd-Dīn had directed a number of people to the Rishī path, among whom are mentioned Darīya Rishī, Regī Rishī and Bībī Sangā. Darīya Rishī belonged to the village of Wattarkhanī, in the *parganā* of Uttar.[4] He is said to have been a prominent Hindu ascetic,[5] originally named Dhar Sādhū.[6] Near his temple, it is said there was a spring, where one day he was seen splashing water. When asked why he was doing this, he replied that the great mosque (*Jāmi'-masjid*) in Srīnagar, was on fire and he was trying to put it out. Some villager, who later went to the city, heard that some one was seen on the roof of the mosque trying to put out the fire.[7]

Some time after this incident, Dhar Sādhū came to see Shukru'd-Dīn, who refused to see him.[8] Dhar Sādhū told him that they were both worshipping the same God, so why should

1. *T.Ks.*, f. 43a; *R.N.*, f. 312a; *A.Ab.*, f. 86a; *K.S.*, f. 47a., *F.K.*, 97b; *R.Nm.*, f. 89a; *T.H.*, III, p. 156, *T.K.*, p. 116.
2. *R.N.*, ff. 312b-313a; *A.Ab.*, f. 86a; *T.Az.*, pp. 71-2; *F.K.*, f. 97b; *T.H.*, III, p. 156; *T.K.*, pp. 116-7.
3. *T.H.*, III, p. 156; *T.K.*, p. 117.
4. *T.Ks.*, f. 43b.
5. *A.Ab.* f. 86b; *T.Az.*, p. 72; *F.K.*, f. 97b; *R.Nm.*, ff. 89b-90a.
6. *T.Ks.*, f. 43b; *R.N.*, f. 312a; *A.Ab.*, f. 86b; *T.Az.*, p. 72; *F.K.*, f. 97b; *R.Nm* , f. 90a.
7. *T.Ks.*, f. 43b; *R.N.*, f. 312a; *A.Ab.*, f. 86b; *T.Az.*, p. 72; *F.K.*, f. 97b; *R.Nm.*, f. 90a.
8. *T.Ks.*, f. 43b; *A.Ab.*, f. 86b; *T.Az.*, p. 72; *F.K.*, f 97b; *R.Nm.*, f. 90b.

Shukru'd-Dīn show such enmity. On hearing this Shukru'd-Dīn allowed him to come in and Dhar Sādhū became his disciple[1] and was named Darīya by his preceptor.[2] According to A'zamī,[3] Darīya Rishī later entered a cave and was never seen again.

Little is known about Regī Rishī, except that he succeeded his preceptor as the head of the Rishīs at Sherkoot.[4] From one anecdote related about his disciple Rūpī Rīshi, it seems that Regī Rishī demanded of his followers the strict observance of the Rishī principles, such as abstinence from flesh. It is said that once he sent Rūpī to a certain village. Rūpī, who took some other Rishīs with him, had to cross the Wular lake. While they were in the boat some fish started jumping out of the water into a fold of his garment,[5] and he put them back into the water. The fish repeated this many times and his companions were tempted, and they caught one fish and ate it. When they returned Regī Rishī came to know about this and he was displeased with Rūpī Rishī. He asked him to leave his abode and to take off the "Rishī dress" as he was not worthy of it.[6] He further remarked that a Rishī is one whose exterior is compatible with his interior.[7] When he died he was buried near his spiritual master at Sherkoot.[8]

Bībī Sangā hailed from the village of Kachalwan, in the *pargana* of Ḥamal.[9] According to Naṣīb, her father, who was

1. Ibid. Naṣīb says that he became a Muslim because Shukru'd-Dīn told him that there could be no friendship between them while he was worshipping idols. Dhar Sādhū yielded and became a Muslim (*R.N.*, f. 312).

   But Mishkātī (*A.Ab.*, f. 86b) and A'zamī (*T.Az.*, p. 72), say that it is not certain that he became a Muslim.
2. *T.H.*, III, p. 157; *T.K.*, p. 117.
3. *T.Az.*, p. 72. See also *A.Ab* , f. 86b.
4. *R.N.*, f. 313a; *A.Ab.*, f. 86b; *T.Ks.*, f. 44a; *K.S.*, f. 49a; *T.Az*, p. 72; *T.H.*, III, p. 157; *T.K.*, p. 117.
5. According to Naṣīb, Regī Rishī because of the cold weather had given Rupī Rishī his own garment to wear; *R.N.*, f. 313a.
6. *R.N.*, ff. 313a-314a; *A.Ab.*, ff. 86b-87a; *K.S.*, f. 49b; *T.Az.*, p. 72; *T.H.*, III, p. 158; *R.Nm.*, f. 91a; *T.K.*, p. 117.
7. *A.Ab.*, f. 87a; *T.Az.*, p. 72.
8. *R.N.*, f. 314b; *T.Ks.*, f. 44b; *K.S.*, f. 49b; *R.Nm.*, f. 91b; *T.H.*, III, p. 158; *T.K.*, p. 117.
9. *R.N.*, f. 321b; *F.K.*, f. 97b; *T.H.*, III, p. 158; *T.K.*, p. 119.

a wealthy man, had seven daughters, all of whom renounced the world.[1] Bībī Sangā became the disciple of Shukru'd-Dīn and later settled in the forest of Āham, in the *pargana* of Khuyahom.[2] It is said that when people of the surrounding villages came to know about her being there, they came to her and asked her to settle in some inhabited place, as she was young and could not live alone. She replied that she had entrusted herself and her affairs to God and was afraid of no one. The people then built a cottage for her in the forest.[3]

Bībī Sangā is said to have been extraordinarily pious and chaste. Like other Rishīs she kept fast continuously and would remain awake during the night.[4] The fame of her piety and devotion spread far and wide and many became her disciples.[5] She is said to have had a great herd of cattle, which were looked after by her disciples.[6] Once one of her disciples was caught by a lion. Bībī Sangā saw it and cried out to the lion,[7] who released her disciple at once. She then said to her disciples that this had happened because one of them had done mischief. One of the disciples confessed that he had picked up some corn somewhere and put it in her store.[8] She remarked "What greater theft could be committed by the Rishīs"[9]; thereby implying that they were expected to maintain standards of morality far higher than those of common men. When she died she was buried at Āham.[10]

1. *R.N.*, f. 321a.
2. Ibid., f. 321a; *A.Ab.*, f. 177b; *F.K.*, f. 97b; *R.Nm.*, f. 119b; *T.H.*, III, p. 158; *T.K.*, p. 118.
3. *R.N.*, f 321a-b.
4. *R.N.*, f. 321b; *F.K.*, f. 97b; *T.H.*, III, p. 158; *T.K.*, pp. 117-8.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. This is the literal translation of the word *sher*. Lions have rarely if ever been attested in Kashmīr in recent times, and the word is commonly used in Kashmīrī to mean any large carnivorous animal such as a tiger or leopard.
8. *F.K.*, f. 97b; *T.H.*, III, p. 158; *T.K.*, p. 118.

   Naṣīb says that one of her disciples admitted that he had used tar without her permission; *R.N.*, ff. 321b-322a.
9. *T.K.*, p. 158.
10. *R.N.*, f. 322a; *F.K.*, f. 97b; *T.H.*, III, p. 158; *T.K.*, p. 118.

Bībī Sangā was succeeded by her prominent disciple, Nekī Rishī,[1] who distributed all her property including the cattle among the poor, believing that worldly things might distract his attention from God.[2] It is said that once a beggar came to him for alms. Nekī Rishī had nothing to offer him, but instead of saying 'no' to him, he gave him his own garment and wrapped himself in an old mat.[3]

One of the miracles attributed to Nekī Rishī is that once some robbers came to his hermitage and carried him and his disciples away with them. Before they reached their destination, Nekī Rishī prayed and they all became blind. Realising that he was a holy man, they asked for his pardon. Nekī Rishī asked them to accompany him to the grave of his preceptor, where he prayed and they got their sight back, after they made a vow not to sin any more.[4]

Before his death, Nekī Rishī is believed to have prepared a grave for himself, and after performing the normal funeral rituals, he entered it and died.[5] The charge of his disciples was taken by Naurūz Rishī,[6] who came from the *pargana* Khuyahom.[7] Before entering the discipleship of Nekī Rishī, he was a man of property and was known by the name of Naurūz Mīr. It is said that he was known for his cruelty and

1. *R.N.*, f. 322a; *A.Ab.*, f. 177b; *F.K.*, f. 98a; *T.H.*, III, p. 159; *T.K.*, p. 119.

   Mullā (*K.S.*, f. 47b) says that he was the disciple of Shukru'd-Dīn.
2. *R.N.*, f. 322a-b; *A.Ab.*, f. 177b; *F.K.*, f. 96a; *R.Nm.*, ff. 119b-120a; *T.H.*, III, p. 159; *T.K.*, p. 158.
3. *A.Ab.*, f. 177b; *R.Nm.*, f. 120a. Naṣīb says that the beggar did not accept his garment because he did not consider himself worthy of it; *R.N.*, f. 322b.
4. *R.N.*, f. 323a. Mullā (*K.S.*, f. 48a) says that Nekī Rishī asked them to return all that they had stolen and then he would pray for their sight to be restored. Wahhāb says that it was army from Tibet, which destroyed his hermitage and took him as a captive; *F.K.*, f. 98a.
5. *R.N.*, ff. 323b-324a; *K.S.*, f. 48a; *F.K.*, f. 98a; *T.H.*, III, p. 159; *T.K.*, p. 118.
6. *R.N.*, f. 324a; *A.Ab.*, f. 178a; *F.K.*, f. 98a; *R.Nm.*, f. 120b; *T.H.*, III, p. 159; *T.K.*, p. 119.
7. *R.N.*, f. 359a.

uncompromising nature; and whenever government tax collectors failed to extract revenue from the peasants, he was entrusted with the task.[1] Once he happened to pass by the hermitage of Nekī Rishī, who was feeding the cattle at the time. One of the animal took the share of another besides his own. Nekī Rishī rebuked him and remarked: "You too have become like Naurūz Mīr that you oppress the weak and poor". Naurūz on hearing this renounced the world and became the disciple of Nekī Rishī.[2]

It is said that Nekī Rishī in order to test Naurūz and to crush his pride, asked him to bring him something to eat bought from his lawful earnings. Naurūz went to his own village and worked there as a labourer, and later, from the money he earned, he bought bread for Nekī Rishī, who was pleased with him and directed him on the Rishī path.[3] After his death, he was buried in the vicinity of the mausoleum of Bībī Sangā.[4]

Disciples of Latīfu'd-Dīn

Among the disciples of Latīfu'd-Dīn the best known were Pīrbāz, Ladī Katūr, Lachham, Ladī Ganā'ī, and Nūrī Rishī. Pīrbāz, who came from the village of Rāzwan, in the *pargana* of Achhā;[5] was only twelve years old when he came under the influence of Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn.[6] When Latīf was told by the Shaikh to migrate to Uttar, Pīrbāz was entrusted to him, and was under his guidance for many years. Later he settled at

1. *R.N.*, f. 359a; *A.Ab.*, f. 178a; *F.K.*, f. 98a; *R.Nm.*, f. 120b; *T.H.*, III, p. 159; *T.K.*, p. 118.
2. *A.Ab.*, f. 178a; *R.Nm.*, ff. 120b-121a; *T.H.*, III, p. 159; *T.K.*, p. 118.

Naṣīb says that he came intentionally to Nekī and became his disciple (*R.N.*, f. 359a). Wahhāb believes that Nekī slapped the animal who had taken the other's share and Naurūz, impressed at this, renounced the world and became Nekī's disciple; *F.K.*, f. 98a.

3. *R.N.*, f. 360a; *A.Ab.*, f. 178a; *T.H.*, III, p. 160; *R.Nm.*, f. 121b.
4. *R.N.*, f. 360b; *F.K.*, f. 98a; *T.H.*, III, p. 160; *T.K.*, p. 119.
5. *R.N.*, f. 324a; *F.K.*, f. 99a; *T.H.*, III, p. 163; *T.K.*, p. 121.

The *pargana* Achhā is to the south of Srīnagar.

6. *R.N.*, f. 324a; *A Ab.*, f. 91b; *T.Az.*, p. 70; *T.K.*, p. 121.

Jutarpāl.[1] After some time he again came back to Uttar at the request of the people of that village,[2] probably when Latīfu'd-Dīn went to Poskar.

It is said that two of his disciples did not accompany him to Uttar as they told him that the Rishī path demanded complete retirement from the world and they would have nothing to do with worldly people. Next morning when they got up they found that they had lost their beards. Believing this to be due to the curse of their preceptor, they hurried to him and asked for his pardon, which was granted.[3]

Pīrbāz gave himself up to severe penances and, as already pointed out, did not eat any kind of green vegetable for the reasons he offered to Latīfu'd-Dīn.[4] When he died he was buried at Uttar.[5]

Nothing is known about the early life of Ladī Katūr and the circumstances of his conversion. It is said that he controlled his selfish desires to the extreme limit, and in order to crush them, he used to take ashes with water for his food, and no one except his preceptor was aware of this. One day when Latīfu'd-Dīn was praising him for his austere penances, a certain Rishī, feeling jealous, accused Ladī Katūr of secretly drinking milk, for the water when mixed with ashes would be rather the colour of milk. Latīfu'd-Dīn told that Rishī that when Ladī broke his fast he should take the cup from him and taste it. The Rishī did so and was ashamed when he found that it contained water mixed with ashes.[6]

1. *R.N*, f. 325b; *A.Ab.*, f. 92b; *T.Az,*, p. 70; *F.K.*, f 99a; *T.H.*, III, p. 164; *T.K.*, p. 121.

It is not possible to identify Jutarpāl, but according to Wahhāb and Ḥasan, it is in the vicinity of Uttar; *F.K.*, f. 99a; *T.H.*, III, p. 164.

2. *R.N.*, f. 325b; *A.Ab.*, f. 92b; *F.K.*, f. 99a; *T.H.*, III, p. 164; *T.K.*, p. 121.
3. *R.N.*, f. 325b; *F.K.*, f. 99a; *T.H.*, III, p. 165; *T.K.*, p. 121.
4. See supra p. 227.
5. *R.N.*, f. 325b; *F.K.*, f. 99a; *T.H.*, III, p. 165; *T.K.*, p. 121.
6. *R.N.*, f. 326b; *F.K.*, f. 99b; *T.H.*, III, p. 166; cf. supra, pp. 229-30.

Mishkātī and Miskīn do not mention the story, but say that he habitually drank water mixed with ashes and salt; *A.Ab.*, f. 94a; *T.K.*, p. 122.

It is said that once a rich person named Ladī Kachū, from the village of Chachihōm, in the *pargana* of Zaingīr,[1] came to Latīfu'd-Dīn and told him that he would like to adopt a Rishī as he had no child of his own. Latīfu'd-Dīn remarked that Rishīs were not sheep and he could not give him one. However, when Ladī Kachū insisted, Latīfu'd-Dīn promised him that his request would be met after some time. One day Latīfu'd-Dīn sent Ladī Katūr to the village of Chachihōm for some other purpose and he stayed with Ladī Kachū, who thought that he was sent by Latīfu'd-Dīn according to his promise. Next morning, when Ladī Katūr got up, he found the door locked on the outside. He knocked at the door, but Ladī Kachū told him that he would allow him to come out only after he made the promise that he would stay there for ever. Ladī Katūr, fearing he might miss his prayers, promised to do so. Later he sent a message to his preceptor informing him what had happened. Latīfu'd-Dīn then asked him to stay there, as thus both would fulfil their promises.[2] Thus Ladī Katūr spent the rest of his life in the house of Ladī Kachū and when he died he was buried at the village of Chachihom.[3]

Lacham Rishī also known as Najm Rishī,[4] became the guide of the Rishīs at Poskar after the death of his preceptor.[5] Nothing is known about his activities except that he used to keep vigil throughout the night and kept fast continuously.[6] When he died he was buried near the tomb of Latīfu'd-Dīn at Poskar.[7]

Ladī Ganā'ī had sought permission from Latīfu'd-Dīn to settle down at Jutarpāl[8] but used often to come to see his

1. It received its present name from Zainu'l-Ābidīn and is situated seven miles to the north-east of Sopur.
2. *R.N.*, ff. 331a-332a; *F.K.*, f. 99b; *T.H.*, III, p. 166; *T.K.*, p. 122.
3. Ibid., f. 332b; ibid., f. 99b; ibid., p. 166; ibid., p. 122.
4. *T.K.*, p. 123.
5. *R.N.*, f. 327b; *F.K.*, f. 100a; *T.H.*, III, p. 168; *T.K.*, p. 123.
6. Ibid.
7. *R.N.*, f. 328a; *F.K.*, f. 100a; *T.H.*, III, p. 169; *T.K.*, p. 123.
8. *R.N.*, f. 325b; *A.Ab.*, f. 93a; *K.S.*, f. 40b; *F.K.*, f. 99b; *T.H.*, III, p. 165; *R.Nm.*, f. 110b.

preceptor at Poskar.[1] On one such visit, while he was at Poskar, he died. Before his death he made a will that he should be buried at Jutarpāl. Owing to heavy snowfall and rain, he was buried at Poskar ; but next day his grave was found wide open and the corpse missing. When Latīfu'd-Dīn was informed of this he told the Rishīs that Ladī's body would be found at Jutarpāl. When they went there they found the corpse and buried it.[2]

The most distinguished disciple of Latīfu'd-Dīn was Nūrī Rishī.[3] He came from the village of Lulīpora, in the *pargana* of Biru,[4] and is believed to have been a man of great intelligence and piety.[5] After serving his master for some years he was asked to settle down at his native place.[6]

Nūrī Rishī was one of the few Rishīs who eked out their living by cultivating the land. He also planted the fruit bearing trees ; and was a source of benefit to the poor.[7] It is said that he used to perform Friday prayers at the village Sikandarpura (Singhpura) and after the prayers would distribute food, prepared by himself, to the poor.[8]

Many miracles are attributed to Nūrī Rishī.[9] Once while he was away his disciple Jandī Rishī[10] died. His other disciples, thinking that Nūrī might not come for some days,

1. Ibid.
2. *R.N.*, f. 326a-b; *A.Ab.*, f. 93b; *K.S.*, f. 40b; *F.K.*, f. 99b; *R.Nm.*, f. 111a; *T.H.*, III, pp. 165-6.
3. Ḥasan and Miskīn call him Naurūz Rishī, but while describing the life of Bahrām Rishī, one of his disciples, they call him Nūrī Rishī; *T.H.*, III, p. 167; *T.K.*, p. 122.
4. *K.S.*, f. 41a; *F.K.*, f. 99b; *T.H.*, III, p. 167.
5. *R.N.*, f. 329a; *A.Ab.*, f. 95a; *K.S.*, f. 41a; *F.K.*, f. 99b; *T.H.*, III, p. 167; *T.K.*, p. 122.
6. *K.S.*, f. 41a; *T.H.*, III, p. 167. See also *A.Ab.*, f. 95a.
7. *R.N.*, f. 329a; *A.Ab.*, f. 94b; *F.K.*, f. 99b; *T.H.*, III, p. 167; *T.K.*, p. 122.
8. *R.N.*, f. 330a; *A.Ab.*, f. 95a; *K.S.*, f. 41a; *F.K.*, f. 100a; *T.H.*, III, p. 167; *T.K.*, p. 123.
9. Cf. *R.N.*, f. 329a, b; *A.Ab.*, f. 95a; *K.S.*, f. 41a; *F.K.*, ff. 99b, 100a; *T.H.*, III, p. 167; *T.K.*, p. 122.
10. Wahhāb calls him Ḥaidar; *F.K.*, f. 99b.

decided to bury Jandī's body. But to their surprise they found every pot in the house full of snakes and could not give it a funeral bath. Meanwhile Nūrī Rishī arrived and they told him of this. He replied that this had happened because he had come to know spiritually of Jandī's death and wanted personally to give him the funeral bath.[1]

When Nūrī Rishī died he was buried at Lulīpura.[2] Mishkātī says that once he and Bāba Naṣīb, the author of Rishī-Nāmā, were at Lulīpura and the servant made the bed in such a way that their feet pointed towards the tomb of Nūrī Rishī. Bābā Naṣīb, called the servant and asked him to change the direction of the bed. Some one there remarked that it did not matter because he was a learned man and the Rishīs were not, the implication being that the Bābā was far superior to the Rishīs, however pious they might be. The Bābā replied that the *'ulamā-i-zāhir* were no comparison to this group of Rishīs.[3]

Nothing is known about the disciples of Nūrī Rishī except Bahrām Rishī who is mentioned in an anecdote about Nūrī Rishī. It is said that Bahrām Rishī was given the task of looking after the garden of Nūrī Rishī. One Friday, when Nūrī was going to offer prayers, he asked Bahrām to be on the lookout lest birds spoiled the fruits in his garden. Bahrām thought deeply and came to the conclusion that by the garden his preceptor meant his fleshy body, and to be alert was to cleanse the self from impurities, and the birds signified "women"; so rather than to live under the apprehension of lustful desires he mutilated himself.[4] While he was doing this, Nūrī Rishī cried out in the mosque. The people there thought that perhaps the *imām* had made some mistake. Nūrī hurried back to his hermitage and found Bahrām unconscious; he recovered when Nūrī Rishī carried him on his shoulders.[5]

1. *K.S.*, f. 41a; *F.K.*, f. 99b; *T.H.*, III, p. 167; *T.K.*, p. 123.
2. *A.Ab.*, f. 95a; *K.S.*, f. 41a; *F.K.*, f. 100a; *T.H.*, III, p. 167; *T.K.*, p. 122.
3. *A.Ab.*, f. 95a.
4. Cf. supra, p. 237.
5. *R.N.*, ff. 330b-331a; *A.Ab.*, f. 95a-b; *F.K.*, f. 100a; *T.H.*, III, p. 168; *T.K.*, p. 123.

Disciples of Naṣru'd-Dīn

Malik Jogī Raina, whom Naṣru'd-Dīn appointed his kh*alīfa* at the instance of Shai*kh* Nūru'd-Dīn,[1] earned his livelihood by cultivating the land[2] and urged his disciples to live like cultivators.[3] When he died he was buried near the mausoleum of his preceptor.[4]

Another disciple of Naṣru'd-Dīn, Lolī Rishī, came from the village of Chaku, in the *pargana* of Adavin.[5] It is said that he was squint-eyed and had crooked feet, and when he married his wife, on seeing him, laughed at his physical disabilities. Lolī was disappointed at the attitude of his wife, so he divorced her,[6] and went on pilgrimage.[7] It was there that one day he received a message from on high that he should return to Kashmīr and there seek guidance from Naṣru'd-Dīn. He immediately returned and enrolled himself as one of the disciples of Naṣru'd-Dīn, with whom he remained until the latter died.[8]

Among the disciples of Lolī Rishī are mentioned Rūbī

1. See supra, p. 232.
2. *T.H.*, III, p. 170; *T.K.*, p. 114.
   Mishkātī and Wahhāb say that he followed some other profession; *A.Ab.*, f. 81b; *F.K.*, f. 101a.
3. *T.H.*, III, p. 170; *T.K.*, p. 114.
4. *F.K.*, f. 101a; *T.H.*, III, p. 170; *T.K.*, p. 114.
5. *T.Ks.*, f. 42a; *R.N.*, f. 309b; *A.Ab.*, f. 96a; *T.Az.*, p. 72; *F.K.*, f. 101b; *T.K.*, p. 123.
6. *T.Ks.*, f. 42a; *T.Az.*, p. 72; *T.H.*, III, pp. 171-2.
   Some sources (*R.N.*, f. 310a; *F.K.*, f. 101b; *R.Nm.*, f. 115b), say that when the *nikāḥ* ceremony was being held, the girl on seeing Lolī, laughed and refused to marry him. But in Kashmīr even today marriages are arranged and it is very rarely that bride and bridegroom are both present, face to face, at the *nikāḥ* ceremony.
7. *T.Ks.*, f. 42a; *R.N.*, f. 310a; *T.Az.*, p. 72; *F.K.*, f. 101b; *R.Nm.*, f. 116a; *T.H.*, III, p. 172.
   Miskātī does not mention anything about his marriage, but says that he went on the pilgrimage; *A.Ab.*, f. 96a.
8. *T.Ks.*, f. 42a-b; *R.N.*, f. 310a; *A.Ab.*, f. 96a; *T.Az.*, p. 72; *F.K.*, f. 101b; *R.Nm.*, f. 116a; *T.H.*, III, p. 172.

and Zainū,[1] the two brothers, who originally belonged to the village of Lajura, in the *pargana* of Chirāt.[2] Both of them are said to have been pious and chaste from their early youth.[3] Rūbī[4] is said to have been killed by an army of Kash*gh*ar,[5] which invaded Kashmīr.[6] Zainū succeeded Lolī, after his death.[7]

Many miracles are attributed to Zainū Rishī.[8] Once he sent one of his disciples to Thana[9] to fetch salt. While his disciple was returning, he slipped at Pīr-Panjāl and in anger abused his guide. Zainū Rishī miraculously appeared there, his face covered, and helped the disciple. When the latter reached Kashmīr, Zainū asked him why had he abused him ? The disciple was surprised that he knew about it, but Zainū told him that it was he who gave him a helping hand. The disciple asked his pardon, which was granted.[10] When Zainū Rishī died, he was buried beside Lolī Rishī at Chrār.[11]

Zainū Rishī is said to have had many disciples[12] including Gangī Rishī and Mīrī Rishī,[13] but we are told nothing about their activities.

1. Ḥasan gives their names Ripur and Ripī (*T.H.*, III, p. 172), and Miskīn, Ranbur and Ribī and says that the latter was also called Ruknu'd-Dīn; *T.K.*, p. 124.
2. *R.N.*, f. 301a, b; *A.Ab.*, f. 96a-b; *K.S.*, f. 73b; *F.K.*, 101b.
3. Ibid., *T.H.*, III, p. 172.
4. Wahhāb and Mattū say Zainū was killed; *F.K.*, f. 102a; *R.Nm.*, ff. 116b-117a.
5. Perhaps the sources refer to Mīrzā Ḥaidar's invasion, who came with the army of Kash*gh*ar in 1532.
6. *A.Ab.*, f. 96b; *R N.*, f. 310b. It is said that the horse of Lolī once fled and Rūbī went to search, but was caught by the Kash*gh*ar army. Rūbī raised his hands to pray to the Almighty for his release, but the army thought he prayed for their destruction and in anger put him to death.
7. *R.N.*, f. 311a; *A.Ab.*, f. 96b; *K.S.*, f. 37b.
8. Cf. ibid., f. 311a; ibid., f. 96b; ibid., f. 38a.
9. In the vicinity of the Punch Valley.
10. *R.N.*, f. 311a; *A.Ab.*, f. 96b; *K.S.*, f. 38a.
11. Ibid.
12. *R N.*, f. 311a; *A.Ab.*, f. 96b.
13. *A.Ab.*, f. 96b.

The above account of the disciples of Shai*kh* Nūru'd-Dīn and their followers, shows that the four main centres of their activities were at Bamuzu, 'Aish-Maqām, Paskor and Chrār. From these centres the Rishī teachings spread to other parts of the Valley. The order continued to flourish in the reigns of Akbar (1556-1605) and Jahāngīr (1605-1627). Both Abu'l-Fazl[1] and Jahāngīr[2] noticed as many as two thousand Rishīs in Kashmīr. Although the custodians of the tombs of these Rishīs saints still call themselves Rishī saints, they do not lead the ascetic and celibate life of their famous predecessors.

Rishī Practices and Philosophy

The Rishīs' practices and philosophy of life differed in many ways from those of the other Muslim saints of Kashmīr. In fact the peculiarity of their way of life and thinking attracted the attention of many chroniclers and hagiologists to define their identity. Thus Abū'l-Fazl writes : "The most respected class of people in this country (Kashmīr) are the Rishīs.[3] Although they have not abandoned the traditional and customary forms of worship (*taqlīd*), but they are true in their worship. They do not denounce men belonging to different faiths. They do not have the tongue of desire, and do not seek to obtain worldly objects. They plant fruit-bearing trees in order that people may obtain benefit from these. They abstain from meat and do not marry"[4].

Jahāngīr corroborates Abū'l-Fazl. He says : "Although they have not acquired learning and *ma'rifa*, they live a frank and unostentatious life. They criticize nobody and ask for nothing from anyone. They neither eat meat nor marry. They always plant fruit-bearing trees in uninhabited parts, so that people may be benefited by them. But they themselves do no

1. *A.A.*, II, p. 170.
2. *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 302.
3. The published text has "Brahmans", which does not fit the context and is probably an emendation by a copyist who did not know the word *rishī*, which occurs in the manuscript copy used by Rogers. Cf. *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī.*, Eng. tr. Rogers, II, p. 149, n. 4.
4. *A.A.*, II, p. 170.

hope to reap any advantages from these trees".[1]

The Kashmīrī hagiologists also extol the asceticism and unworldly life which the Rishīs led. Bābā Dāwud *Kh*ākī writes that a Rishī is one who is an ascetic, is disciplined, and leads a life different from other saints. He is free from all worldly pleasures.[2] Bābā Naṣīb, describing the Rishīs' way of life in a long poem, says that they are gracious to the pious and are men of pure heart. Their presence has turned Kashmīr into a heaven. Cutting themselves away from all worldly relationship, they neither marry nor bother themselves with a family life. Piety is their kh*irqa*; their nights are devoted to worship and during the day they fast incessantly. Having abandoned all worldly desires they have succeeded in controlling their carnal lusts.[3]

Bābā Dāwud Mishkātī, endorsing the earlier hagiologists, compares the way of Shai*kh* Nūru'd-Dīn's life with the celebrated mystic of Islam, Ḥasan al-Baṣrī.[4] 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb identifies a Rishī as one who is pious, an ascetic and recluse. Having abandoned worldly desires, he is devoted to piety and asceticism. He strives to purify his carnal self, to cleanse his heart and to illuminate his soul.[5]

According to Bahāu'd-Dīn Mattū, the Rishis of Kashmīr were famous for their devotion to Divine unity, and for killing their carnal desires. Although they retire to caves, they illuminate them with the light of their spiritual attainment. Having abandoned the society of mankind, they do not even bother about food or sleep. They eat bitter greens (*upalhāk*) and when others sleep they busy themselves with meditation upon God.[6]

The testimony of both Kashmīrī and non-Kashmīrī sources leave us with no doubt that the piety and asceticism of the Rishīs has left a deep imprint upon the minds of the Kashmīrīs

1. *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 302.
2. *Rishī-Nāmā*, ff. 8b-9a, 66b.
3. *R.N.*, f. 127a-b.
4. *A.Ab.*, ff. 54b-55a.
5. *F.K.*, 82b.
6. *R.Nm.*, f. 10a-b.

and others who came into contact with them.[1]

The anecdotes relating to the Rishīs tend to indicate that, during the period under review, their way of life passed through two marked stages, although these stages are not mutually exclusive. In the first stage they confined themselves to the life of asceticism and meditation in lonely places. In the second stage some of them, such as Nandī Rishī,[2] accepted gifts in the form of land for the sake of obtaining a comfortable living for their future followers. This group seems to have devoted themselves to planting trees and otherwise serving the people disinterestedly and dispassionately.

Unlike the other Muslim saints of Kashmīr, they did not concern themselves with preaching and teaching the faith of Islam.[3] Nor were they eager to bring the nobles or rulers under their influence.[4] They generally did not bother themselves with acquiring theological knowledge and were not interested in discussions and debates.[5] Nūru'd-Dīn was not ashamed to admit that he had not acquired formal knowledge of religion and wished to do penance for this sin of omission.[6]

It is most likely that their meditation was based mainly on the *pas-i-anfās* ("watching of breath"), which the Ṣūfīs had adopted from the times of Bāyazīd.[7] In the Indian environment the *prāṇayāma* or control of the breath, as practised by the Nātha yogīs, had greatly developed.[8] It did not demand any

1. Cf. *A.N.*, III, p. 549.
2. See supra, p. 242.
3. Cf. supra, p. 218, Nūru'd-Dīn's statement.
4. Cf. supra, p. 219.
5. Cf. *Khākī*, *Rishī-Nāmā*, ff. 9a, 76b. See also supra, pp. 233-4, 247, 266,
6. It is said that once one Maulānā Mānak came to Nūru'd-Dīn and began to reproach him for being illiterate. Nūru'd-Dīn pleaded guilty, declaring that he had really wasted his life in ignorance, and that he had become a recluse so that he might do penance for his sins. *R.N.*, ff. 172b-73a.
7. Cf. Rizvī, "Ṣūfīs and Natha Yogis in Medieval Northern India", *The Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia*, VII, December 1970, p. 129.
8. Ibid.

religious or theological knowledge, but was mainly based on the techniques of meditation which were current among the Śaivīte yogīs of Kashmīr. All they seem to have added to the Nātha yogic framework was the name of Allāh or *huwa*.

The thought that essentially underlines the Rishīs' philosophy is the control of carnal desires. They considered carnal desires as their enemy and maintained that they should be controlled and crushed at all costs. In pursuit of this goal every kind of physical hardship was imposed and accepted.[1] The following anecdote well represents the high value the Rishīs placed upon the subjugation of the baser instincts. It is said that Shai*kh* Nūru'd-Dīn, once hearing a man boasting that he had killed his enemy, approached him and said : "May the blessings of God be upon you for killing your enemy and destroying him. I have long been trying to destroy my enemy but in vain. Whom did you kill ?" "O, one of my relatives," replied the man. Nūru'd-Dīn took a deep sigh and remarked : "I thought you had killed your true enemy, your *nafs* (carnal self)".[2]

The Rishī attitude towards marriage and family life was similarly conditioned by the desire to achieve a very high standard of asceticism. If a man, before becoming a Rishī, was married, he abandoned his wife, children and other relations. The Rishīs thought that women are a great hindrance to their pursuit of perfection.[3] It is said that Saiyid Ḥājī Murād,[4] a Kubravī saint, was, very friendly with a Rishī, but when he told his Rishī friend about his intention to marry, the latter disapprovingly remarked that the married life was not at all compatible with the life of a saint. And when Saiyid Murād married the Rishī ceased to visit him.[5]

The Rishī dress and diet equally reflected their philosophy of controlling the carnal desires. Their dress was simple, often

1. Cf. supra, pp. 218-9, 222, 262.
2. *R.N.*, f. 151a.
3. Cf. supra, pp 237, 266-7.
4. See for his biography, supra, pp. 143-4.
5. *A.Ab.*, f. 100b; *T.H.*, III, p. 41.

consisting of no more than mats of split reed. Some of them even used to wear the yogī dress.[1] Their diet was strictly vegetarian. Rūpī Rishī was asked by his preceptor, Regī Rishī, to leave his abode, because Rūpī had allowed another Rishī to eat fish.[2] Generally they used to eat wild vegetables, especially *upalhāk*, which grows in abundance in Kashmīr and is bitter in taste.

They believed that even fresh grass was endowed with life and some of them, as we have seen, abstained even from eating fresh vegetables.[3] Nūru'd-Dīn is also said to have given up walking on green grass.[4] The Rishī doctrine of not harming others seems to have been very well known in Kashmīr. It is said that Payāmu'd-Dīn Rishī, before entering the Rishī path, was once journeying on horseback. On the road he abruptly came to a halt. When questioned by his servant as to the reason, he replied : "The ants are moving on the path, and they might be destroyed". The servant remarked : "It seems you will become a Rishī"[5]

The foregoing discussion clearly shows that the Rishīs' ascetic habits, their renunciation of the world and abstinence from flesh to such a degree, rather resembled the ways of Hindu ascetics and Buddhist monks than of the Ṣūfīs. Some of the Ṣūfīs did not marry at all and avoided eating meat. But those who immigrated to Kashmīr from Persia and Central Asia lived a normal life. They etered the government service and organised kh*ānqāh* life on the Irānian pattern. This made the Rishīs' way of life seem preposterous in their eyes. Some of them were horrified at Rishī practices and accused them of violating the laws of *sharī'a* and *sunna*.[6]

It is said that when Mīr Muḥammad Hamadānī visited Shai*kh* Nūru'd-Dīn, he asked him the reason for his not eating

1. See supra, pp. 243, 253.
2. See supra, pp. 256-7.
3. See supra, pp. 227, 262.
4. *R.N.*, ff. 151b-152a; *A.Ab.*, f. 46a.
5. *R.N.*, f. 308a; *R.Nm.*, f. 103a-b.
6. Cf. *Kh*ākī, *Rishī-Nāmā*, f. 77a; *T.H.*, III, pp. 134-5,

meat when the *sharī'a* permitted it. Nūru'd-Dīn countered this question with a simple answer: "In our religion cruelty is prohibited, therefore killing is not allowed".[1] Similarly Bābā Dāwud Mishkātī, himself a distinguished Kubravī, saint of the seventeenth century, observed that many Rishī practices such as taking ashes for food were incompatible with the laws of religion.[2] But for several centuries the Rishīs did not give up their ascetic habits and were criticised from time to time by the orthodox.[3]

Causes of Differences between the Rishīs and other Kashmīr Sūfīs

The reasons for the differences in approach to religious and social questions between the Rishīs and other Kashmīrī Ṣūfīs are rooted in the past history of Sufism. Sufism, from the times of Abu Sa'īd bin Abu'l-*Kh*air down to the rise of Shai*kh* 'Alā'u'd-Daula Simnānī to prominence, exhibits two different attitudes towards life : the Ṣufī as an ascetic and the Ṣūfī as a missionary. In India, too, the Chistīs in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries preferred to lead a life of asceticism and encouraged their disciples to lead a pious and moral life.[4] The Suhrawardīs on the other hand, although they did not ignore piety and ethical values, took part in politics and tried to make reforms in Muslim society through official channels.[5]

As has already been pointed out, the Ṣūfis of Irān who influenced orthodoxy in Kashmīr belonged to the school of 'Ala'u'd-Daula Simnānī, and thus found themselves duty-bound to missionary activity. As foreigners, they had neither local sympathies nor knowledge of the society and way of life of Kashmīrīs. The Rishīs, on the other hand, were children of the soil, and though converted to Islam were sympathetic to the mystic traditions of the country. With no knowledge of

1. *A.Ab.*, f. 236a-b.
2. Ibid., f. 72a.
3. Cf. supra, p. 273.
4. Cf. Rizvi, *Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, p. 17ff.
5. Cf. infra, p. 278, n. 2.

Arabic and Persian, or with little acquaintance with them, they drew their inspiration from the local environment .

The political activities of the immigrant Ṣūfīs and their Kashmīrī followers appeared to the Rishīs essentially contradictory to Sufism as they understood it. Their concept of sufism was fundamentally identical with the traditions which had long been known and accepted in Kashmīr through the practices of Hindu and Buddhist mystics.

The two different attitudes thus made their paths different. With such a difference in basic assumptions, it was inevitable that conflict between two opposing attitudes should become a latent ingredient of the Kashmīrī social pattern.

Even in the second stage of their development, when the Rishīs began to accept gifts of land and other earthly favours, they generally concentrated their efforts upon serving the cause of mankind in general and not Muslims alone. Thus the difference in the attitude of Rishīs and other Ṣūfīs towards all the religious and social problems made them different from each other.

CHAPTER VIII

THE IMPACT OF SUFISM

From the reign of Sultān Qutbu'd-Dīn an increasing number of Muslim scholars and saints were attracted to Kashmīr because of the patronage offered by the succeeding Sultāns.[1] The Naqshbandī and Qādirī saints were few in number, and it was left to the Suhrawardī and Kubravī saints to make the influence of their teachings and practices felt upon the political, religious and social developments in the country.

The tradition of mixing with the rulers and taking part in political affairs was established by the early Suhrawardī[2] and Kubravī[3] saints. They believed that by associating themselves with royal courts, they could change the outlook of rulers.

These traditions determined the attitude of the Suhrawardī and Kubravī saints of Kashmīr. Besides occupying religious positions such as that of *qāzī* and *Shaikhu'l-Islam*, some of them held high posts in the administration, including that of *wazīr*, and they also served as ambassadors.[4] They visited the nobles and the royal court; established matrimonial alliances with leading nobles and the ruling house. They

1. "Many Yavanas", Jonarāja writes, "left other sovereigns and took shelter under this king [Sultān Sikandar] who was renowned for charity, even as bees leave the flowers and settle on elephants." *R.Tj.*, p. 57.
2. The Suhrawardī attitude towards the princes may be judged by the fact that Shaikh Shihābu'd-Dīn Suhrawardī had dedicated two of his works to the Caliph Al-Nasīr (575-622/1180-1255). Cf. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, IV, p. 506. Shaikh Bahāu'd-Dīn Zakariyā (d. 1262), one of the disciples of Shaikh Shihābu'd-Dīn Suhrawardī, who lived in Multān, supported Iltutmish (1210-36) in extending his political prestige and authority in the country—*Siyāru'l-'Ārifīn*, pp. 112-13, *Tazkiratu'l-Shu'rā*, p. 281.
3. Cf. supra, pp. 36, 38. See also *Tazkiratu'l-Shu'rā*, p. 281.
4. See supra, pp. 141, 145-6.

dabbled in politics and on many occasions were exiled from the country.[1]

As already pointed out, the population of the country was predominantly Hindu; therefore concord between Muslims and non-Muslims was an urgent political necessity. Sul*t*ān Qu*t*bu'd-Dīn, realising this, declined to allow religious considerations to affect his conduct of state. He refused to associate himself with the activities of Saiyid 'Alī, much to the Saiyid's resentment.[2]

But the influence of the Ṣūfīs on the politics of Kashmīr became very pronounced during the reign of Sul*t*ān Sikandar, who had a profound love and veneration for saints and divines.[3] It was during his reign, under the influence of Mīr Muḥammad, that the interests of the state were confused with the demands of orthodox Islam.[4] Mīr Muḥammad's influence on the state policy may be measured by the fact that he had any person whom he thought dangerous to his orthodox policy arrested.[5]

After Sikandar, 'Alī Shāh (1413-20) came to the throne. He was also of a religious bent of mind and even decided to give up the throne in order to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca.[6] During his reign non-Muslims were again subjected to harassment because of Sūha Bhaṭṭa,[7] who had accepted Islam through Mīr Muḥammad.

Although Zainu'l-'Ābidīn (1420-70) showed great regard

1. See supra, pp. 146, 149.
2. Cf. supra, p. 49.
3. Jonarāja writes : "It was perhaps owing to the sins of the subjects that the king [Sikandar] had a fondness for the Yavanas..." *R.Tj.*, p. 57.
4. See supra, pp. 134ff...
5. "The Brahmanas, the supporters of the world," writes Jonarāja, "had taken refuge of Ratnākara in order to preserve their party, and this little Brahmana, became the favourite of Sūhabhaṭṭa. But Malānoddīna [Muḥammad Hamadānī], the great guru of Yavanas, feared that Ratnākara would rise in rebellion and caused him to be arrested." *R.Tj.*, pp. 67-68.
6. Ibid., p. 71; *T.Ks.*, f. 15a.
7. Cf. ibid., pp. 68-69.

for both the Sūfīs and the *'ulamā*,[1] he prevented their interference in the administration of the country. He was conscious that the government needed a broader base of support, so he set about winning the confidence and co-operation of every possible element of the population. Jonarāja writes : "As the lion does not attack other animals in the peaceful hermitage of saints, so the Turuṣkas, who were much alarmed, did not oppress the Brahmanas as they had done before."[2] But this religious tolerance of Zainu'l-'Ābidīn did not appeal to the orthodox, who held that it was implemented only for the frivolous purpose of humouring all the nations of the world.[3]

Soon after the death of Zainu'l-'Ābidīn, orthodoxy once again achieved supremacy in the country during the reign of Sul*t*ān Ḥaidar Shāh (1470-72). Non-Muslims, writes Shrīvara, "at the instigation of the mlechchas [Muslims]" were persecuted.[4] These "mlechchas" could not be common Muslims, who would have no access or influence at the court, but must have been the *'Ulamā* and the Ṣūfīs who were already there.

After the death of Ḥasan Shāh (1472-84), the Baihaqī Saiyids dominated politics of the country for many years. As already pointed out, in 1579 they even seized the throne of Kashmīr.[5]

The Ṣūfīs had much iufluence on the administration not only because they associated themselves with the court, but also because on many occasions defeated princes[6] and nobles out of favour approached them and asked for their blessing.[7] If ever pretenders acquired power, they thought themselves bound to follow the saints' whims.

The conversion of the Hindu population of Kashmīr to

1. Cf. *R.Ts.*, p. 222.
2. *R.Tj.*, p. 77.
3. Cf. *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, p. 434. Some Kashmīrī sources assert that the progress of Islam in Kashmīr was hindered by the policy of Zainu'l-'Ābidīn. Cf. *T.Ks.*, f. 15a-b; *B.S.*, f. 49a-b.
4. *R.Ts.*, p. 196.
5. See supra, p. 148.
6. See supra, p. 24, n. 2.
7. Cf. *B.S.*, ff. 80b-81a.

Islam is ascribed by the modern Muslim scholars[1] to the missionary activities of the Ṣūfīs while non-Muslim scholars[2] generally attribute it to the persecution of rulers such as Sulṭān Sikandar. The contemporary works, however, do not make any specific reference to the conversion of non-Muslims to Islam during the period under review. Stray references of conversion recorded in political and hagiological works do little to illustrate the process.

The influence of the Ṣūfīs on the religion of the people of Kashmīr cannot be rejected outright. They arrived in Kashmīr with the purpose of preaching and teaching Islam[3] The Islamization of Kashmīr had started before the arrival of Saiyid 'Ālī Hamadānī[4] and his followers. The advent of the Saiyid accelerated the process. The establishment of the *khānqāhs* helped the dissemination of Islamic spiritual and intellectual values. Their establishment at important Hindu centres such as Avantipura, Vijabror, Mattan, Sopur and Srīnagar, suggests the Ṣūfīs were prepared to face Hindu religious and intellectual challenges. There the Ṣūfīs demonstrated their own way of life and the doors of some *khānqāhs* such as those of Saiyid Ḥusain[5] and Pīr Ḥājī Muḥammad[6] were open to all classes of people. The interest of some Ṣūfīs[7] in the welfare of the people in general must have also helped them to attract non-Muslims to their *khānqāhs*, providing them with an opportunity to convert the non-Muslims to Islam.

The advent of the Muslim saints was also indirectly responsible for including the non-Muslims to embrace Islam. Before the arrival of the Ṣūfīs the Brahmans enjoyed royal patronage, but the presence of the Muslim saints led to the gradual decline of their authority in the political and economic

1. Cf. Muftī Muḥammad Shāh, *Bulbul-Shāh Ṣāḥib*, p. 8; Ṣūfī, *Kashmīr*, I, pp. 81 ff; Muḥibbu'l-Ḥasan, *Sultāns*, p. 235.
2. Cf. Wolsely Haig, *The Cambridge History of India*, III, p. 280; Ferguson, *Kashmīr*, p. 32.
3. Cf. supra, p. 43, Saiyid 'Alī's statements.
4. Cf. supra, p. 21.
5. See supra, p. 114.
6. See supra, p. 117.
7. See supra, p. 114.

fields.[1] Their place was taken by the newly arrived Muslim saints and the Brahmans were relegated to the background. Thus, Jonarāja says, many Brahmans and people of other castes gave up their religion in order "to obtain the favour of the king [Sikandar]."[2]

The Ṣūfīs were also responsible for establishing *madrasas*, where Islamic knowledge was imparted to common Muslims. Of the earlier *madrasas* established in Kashmīr the most important were the *Madrasatu'l-Islam*,[3] the *Madrasatu'l-Dāru'sh-Shīfa*[4] and the *Madrasatu'l-'Urwatu'l-Wusqa*,[5] all at Srīnagar. These *madrasas* taught the Qur'ān and Qur'ānic commentaries. However, the best known *madrasa*, which imparted Islamic knowledge in all branches including *ḥadīs*, *fiqh* and *tafsīr*,[6] was founded by Shai*kh* Ismā'īl Kubravī. To this *madrasa* students flocked even from India and Kabul.[7] It had a hostel and a well established library attached to it, and a big congregational mosque where prayers, obligatory and supererogatory, were constantly offered.[8]

The continuous waves of Muslim saints, immigrating from Persia and Central Asia, were bound to influence the society of Kashmīr in many ways. They brought about a great transformation in the life of the Kashmīrī people, both the Muslims and non-Muslims.

Hindu influence, which was dominant in the court, began to decline. Sanskrit, which had received royal patronage for many years, was replaced by Persian. The Baihaqī Saiyids, who wielded great influence in the court, in the words of Shrīvara, "neglected men learned in the vernacular and in Sanskrit."[9] However, Sanskrit continued to be the literary

1. Cf. *R.Tj.*, p. 67.
2. Ibid., p. 60.
3. *A.Ab.*, f. 110a; *T.Az.*, p. 40; *F.K.*, f. 72a; *T.H.*, III, p. 151.
4. *D.S.*, p. 63; *R.N.*, f. 381b; *A.Ab.*, f. 122b; *T.H.*, III, p. 163.
5. See supra, p. 122.
6. *D.S.*, pp. 63, 64; *R.N.*, f. 381b.
7. See supra, p. 126.
8. *T.Ks.*, f. 22b; *D.S.*, p. 63.
9. *R.Ts.*, p. 268.

language of the Hindu elite, but was nevertheless affected by an influx of many Arabic and Persian words.

The non-Muslims, who discovered that their prospects of employment and promotion were likely to improve by a knowledge of the Persian language, set themselves to the task of learning it. This imbued them with a taste for Persian poetry and Sufism. Bhaṭṭāvatara, a scholar of Zainu'l-'Ābidīn's time, who was enamoured of Firddusī's *Shāh-Nāma*, composed the *Jainavilāsa* containing the sayings of the Sulṭān.[1] Shrīvara translated Jāmī's *Yūsuf-Zulaikha* and entitled it *Kathā-Kautuka*.[2] Moreover, interest in Persian literature must have made it easier for non-Muslims to understand and appreciate the faith of their rulers.

However, in course of time Hindu society was split into two groups—the Persian-speaking Hindus, who were called *kārkun*, and the Sanskrit-speaking, who were called *paṇḍits*.[3] This resulted in the families of Sanskrit-studying and Persian-studying Hindus not intermarrying but forming endogamous groups.[4] This situation must have embarrassed many Hindus, who had learnt Persian for economic reasons.

The Persianisation of the administration gradually ushered in an era of cultural conquest. Although Sulṭān Quṭbu'd-Dīn refused to promote the missionary activities of Saiyid 'Alī, he nevertheless gave up dressing in the Hindu fashion on his advice.[5] From Jonarāja's account it appears that by the time of Sulṭān Sikandar, Hindus too adopted Muslim dress.[6] Besides dress, the diet of the Kashmīrīs also underwent a change. It is said that some Hindus started eating beef in the company of Muslims.[7] Shuka writes : "It was on account of the association

1. *R.Ts.*, p. 136.
2. Published at Bombay in 1901. Vide Ṣūfī, *Kashmīr*, I, p. 167.
3. Bühler, "Tour in Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts". *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Bombay Branch). 1877, p. 20; Madan, *Family and Kinship*, pp. 22-23.
4. Bühler, op. cit., p. 20.
5. *B.S.*, f. 23b; *T.Km.*, f. 91b.
6. Cf. *R.Tj.*, p. 67.
7. *R.Ts.*, pp. 234-35, 319.

of the people [Hindus] with the Turuṣkas that they did not give up their fondness for dress, land and food, the last of which brought punishment on them, in as much as they had to place themselves under medical treatment."[1]

Lamenting over these changes Jonarāja remarks : "As the wind destroys the trees, and the locusts the shali crop, so did the Yavanas destroy the usages of Kashmīra."[2] Similarly Shrīvara ascribes the misfortunes of the people of Kashmīr to their acceptance of changes in their way of life.[3] But these protests were in vain; the influence of Persian culture went on increasing day by day.

The popularity of Sufism made the Kashmīrī Muslims increasingly gullible and credulous. The growing charlatanism in Sufism brought about considerable confusion among the Ṣūfīs themselves. Both living and dead saints came to be recognised as endowed with great miraculous powers. The graves of the saints became constant centres of pilgrimage for all classes of Kashmīrī Muslims, who thronged there to obtain spiritual blessings for the fulfilment of their wishes and vows. Many people whom living saints were not able to impress were, in times of crisis and difficulty, attracted to the tombs of the saints.[4]

The Ṣūfīs, however, were a great force in maintaining the framework of Sunnī social and religious order intact. They not only challenged the deeply entrenched traditional religion of Hinduism but also made efforts to counteract Isnā 'Asharī Shi'ism, which was introduced into Kashmīr by Mīr Shamsu'd-Dīn 'Irāqī. He was born in the village of Kund near Sol*gh*ān,[5] and his father, Ibrāhīm, was a Musavī Saiyid while his mother belonged to a Saiyid family of Qazvīn.[6] He seems to have received a good education and he became the disciple of Shāh

1. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Eng. Tr. Dutta, p. 380.
2. *R.Tj.*, p. 57.
3. *R.Ts.*, p. 235.
4. Cf. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmīr*, pp. 286-87.
5. *Tuḥfatu'l-Aḥbāb*, Ms., p. 3. Mirzā Ḥaidar says that he was born in Tālish. *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, p. 435.
6. *Tuḥfatu'l-Aḥbāb*, p. 3.

Qāsim,[1] the son and successor of Saiyid Muḥammad Nūrbakh-sh. The Mīr was the author of a treatise on Shī'ism, entitled *Fiqh-i-Ahwat.*[2]

Mīr Shamsu'd-Dīn entered the service of Sul*t*ān Ḥusain Mirzā (1469-1506) of Herāt, who deputed him as his envoy to the court of Sul*t*ān Ḥasan Shāh (1472-84) of Kashmīr.[3] He arrived there in 1481 and stayed for about eight years.[4]

During this visit, according to the Sunnī authors,[5] Mīr Shamsu'd-Dīn did not declare himself a Shī'ī but became a disciple of the Kubravī saint Shai*kh* Ismā'īl. It seems that the Mīr had realized that without preparing the ground in advance it was not advisable for him to embark on the propagation of his creed. However, he was secretly active and imbued Bābā 'Alī Najār, a prominent disciple of Shai*kh* Ismā'īl Kubravī, with Shī'ī beliefs.[6]

In 1486 Fatḥ Shāh seized the throne from Muḥammad Shāh and he sent Mīr Shamsu'd-Dīn back with gifts to Sul*t*ān Ḥusain Mirzā.[7] The Mīrzā, for reasons not known, dismissed 'Irāqī from his service,[8] whereupon he went to his preceptor, Shāh Qāsim.[9] But, urged by Shāh Qāsim to preach Shī'īsm

1. Ibid., p. 3; Shuka, *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, p. 339.
2. *Tuḥfatu'l-Aḥbāb*, p. 13; *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, p. 435; *T.Ks.*, f. 25a; *T.Az.*, p. 77.
3. *Tuḥfatu'l-Aḥbāb*, p. 13; *T.Ks.*, f. 21a; *B.S.*, f. 60b; *T.Az.*, p. 67. Aslam and Ḥasan (*G.A.*, f. 136b; *T.H.*, II, p. 149), say that he arrived in Kashmīr in 892/1486. But this is wrong as by this time Sul*t*ān Ḥasan of Kashmīr was dead.
4. *T.Ks.*, f. 21b; *B.S.*, ff. 60b-61a; *T.Az.*, p. 67.
5. *T.Ks.*, f. 21b; *K.S.*, f. 59b; *N.A.*, f. 55a; *T.Az.*, p. 67; *G.A.*, f. 139a; *F.K.*, f. 80a; *T.H.*, II, p. 192, III, p. 153; *T.K.*, p. 148.
6. *T.Ks.*, f. 23a-b; *T.Az.*, pp. 67, 75; *G.A.*, f. 139a; *T.H.*, II, p. 192; *T.K.*, p. 148. These sources assert that Bābā 'Alī was not well educated and therefore was easily trapped by 'Irāqī.
7. *T.Ks.*, f. 21b; *B.S.*, f. 60b; *T.Az.*, p. 67; *G.A.*, f. 139a; *T.H.*, II, p. 192.
8. It is suggested by some authorities (*T.Ks.*, f 23a; *T.Az.*, p. 68; *G.A.*, f. 139a; *T.H.*, II, p. 199) that Sul*t*ān Mirzā dismissed 'Irāqī because of his religious views. Had it been so, the Mirzā would not have employed him in the first instance.
9. *Tuḥfatu'l-Aḥbāb*, p. 3.

in Kashmīr,[1] Mīr Shamsu'd-Dīn arrived there for the second time in 1501.[2]

Shai*kh* Ismā'īl Kubravī had by now retired to seclusion and his place had been taken by Bābā 'Alī Najār.[3] The Bābā received the Mīr warmly and even handed over his disciples to him.[4] But it was the conversion of Mūsā Raina, one of the leading nobles of the time, to Shī'ism that facilitated the activities of the Mīr in Kashmīr. Mūsā Raina gave him moral and material support and built a khā*nqāh* for him at Jadībal,[5] in Srīnagar.

The rise to power of Saiyid Muḥammad Baihaqī the *wazīr* of Muḥammad Shāh (II, 1493-1505), upset the plans of the Mīr. Saiyid Muḥammad was strongly opposed to Mīr Shāmsu'd-Dīn,[6] and the later, finding his stay in Kashmīr difficult, emigrated to Askardū (or Skardū) in Ladā*kh*.[7] There he converted a large number of Buddhists to his creed.[8]

Meanwhile Fatḥ Shāh seized the throne for the second time in 1505 and he appointed as his *wazīr*, Mūsā Raina,[9] who invited Mīr Shamsu'd-Dīn back to Kashmīr from Askardu.[10] With the support of Mūsā Raina the Mīr converted a large number of non-Muslims to Shī'ism.[11] The destruction of temples was once again started.[12] Shuka writes : "According to

1. Ibid , p. 17.
2. *B.S.*, f. 72a.
3. *T.Ks.*, f. 23a-b; *T.Az.*, p. 75; *G.A.*, f. 142a.
4. Ibid.
5. *T.Ks.*, f. 24a; *T.Km.*, f. 153a; *T.Az.*, p. 77; *G.A.*, f. 142a; *T.H.*, II, p. 199, III, p. 201. It is said that the khā*nqāh* was built on the foundation of a temple which already existed there and was destroyed on the advice of 'Irāqī.
6. *Tuḥfatu'l-Aḥbāb*, pp. 63-64; *B.S.*, 71a.
7. Ibid., p. 64; Ibid., ff. 71a, 77a; *T.Az.*, p. 77; *T.H.*, II, p. 199.
8. *Tuḥfatu'l-Aḥbāb*, p. 64.
9. *B S.*, ff. 71b-75b; *T.Km.*, f. 107a-b.
10. Ibid., f. 78a; Ibid., f. 107b; *G.A.*, f. 142a; *T.H.*, II, p. 199.
11. *B.S.*, f. 80b; *T.Km.*, f. 108a; *T.H.*, II, p. 199.
12. Wherever there were temples, says the author of *B.S.*, and Ḥaidar Malik, they were razed to the ground and mosques built in their places. *B.S.*, ff. 78b, 80a; *T.Km.*, f. 108a.

Merashesha's [Mīr Shamsu'd-Dīn] advice, Somachandra [Mūsā Raina] arrested men belonging to temples, confiscated lands of the Brahmans and gave them to Merashesha's servants ...The gods then deserted their images, for otherwise how could men plunder their temples ?"[1]

In 1517 Muhammad Shāh came to the throne for the fourth time and he appointed Kājī Chak as his *wazīr*. Kājī Chak was also a strong supporter of the Mīr and helped him to establish Shī'ism firmly in Kashmīr. All the leading nobles at the court had by now embraced Shī'ism.[2]

In order to stem the growth of Shī'ism in Kashmīr, some leading Suhrawardī and Kubravī saints and the *'ulamā* united to restore Sunnism to its former glory. The lead was taken by Shai*kh* Fatḥu'llāh, the son of Shai*kh* Ismā'īl Kubravī. He resented the Shī'ī practice af reviling the first three Caliphs[3] and is said to have written a letter to Mīr Shamsu'd-Dīn accusing him of deviating from the right path. In order to suppress his activities, Kājī Chak confiscated his property and he was obliged to leave Kashmīr for Sialkot.[4]

Saiyid Aḥmed Kīrmānī, who had arrived in Kashmīr by this time from India, also tried to stop Shī'i preaching.[5] It was, however, left to the lot of Shai*kh* Ḥamza, who had received guidance both from Shai*kh* Fatḥu'llāh and Saiyid Aḥmad,[6] to check the progress of Shī'ī doctrines in Kashmīr. He claimed that the Prophet, accompanied by his four distinguished companions, had once appeared to him in a dream and told him that the Shī'īs were wrong and that he should not associate with them.[7] Many Shī'īs are said to have renounced their faith because of his preaching.[8] He urged his disciples to hate and

1. *Rājataranginī*, p. 339.
2. Cf. *T.Ks.*, f. 24a.
3. *F.K.*, f. 80b; *T.H.*, III, p. 157; *T.K.*, p. 148.
4. See supra, p. 127.
5. See supra, p. 24.
6. See supra, p. 29.
7. *D.S.*, p. 216; *R.N.*, ff. 396a-b; *A.Ab.*, ff. 128a-b; 133a-b.
8. See supra, p. 29.

avoid the company of the Shī'īs.[1]

However, it was the conquest of Kashmīr by Mirzā Ḥaidar in 1540 which again made Sunnism dominant in the Valley. He sent the *Fiqh-i-Aḥwat* of Mīr Shamsu'd-Dīn to the Sunnī *'ulamā* of Hindustan to obtain their verdict against its contents.[2] Upon their advice,[3] Mirzā Ḥaidar embarked upon a policy of the ruthless destruction of the Shī'īs. The tomb of Shamsu'd-Dīn was razed to the ground[4] and the Shī'ī preachers, Shai*kh* Shunglī[5] and Mullā Ḥājī *Khat*īb,[6] were beheaded. He then summoned Shai*kh* Daniyāl, the son and successor of 'Irāqī, from Askardū where he had fled, and imprisoned him for one year.[7] In 1550, he beheaded him, on the ground of reviling the first three Caliphs.[8] The Mirzā claims that no one dared openly to profess Shī'ism as a result of his policy of persecution.

Some Kashmīrī authors[9] tend to the view that Mirzā Ḥaidar started his policy of persecution because of his friendship with Shai*kh* Ḥamza. But the view seems hardly justified, for his *Tārī*kh-*i-Rashīdī* does not indicate that he was associated with any Kashmīrī Muslim saint and he did not even consult the Kashmīrī *'ulamā* or Ṣūfīs on the contents of *Fiqh-i-Aḥwat.*

1. *D.S.*, p. 217. Although at present Shī'īs and Sunnīs of Kashmīr live in harmony, the former have not forgotten Shai*kh* Ḥamza's antipathy towards them.
2. *Tārī*kh-*i-Rashīdī*, p. 435; *T.Ks.*, f. 25a-b; *Tārī*kh-*i-Firishta*, II, p. 336. The sources give no indication of the place to which the *Fiqh* was sent. It is possible that the Lahore *'ulamā* are meant.
3. *Tārī*kh-*i-Rashidi*, pp. 432-36; *Tārī*kh-*i-Firishta*, II, pp. 336-37.
4. *T.Ks.*, f. 26a; *B.S.*, f. 112a; *N.A.*, ff. 70b-71a; *T.Az.*, p. 80; *T.H.*, I, p. 480, II, p. 221.
5. *T.Ks.*, f. 26a; *B.S.*, f. 112a; *N.A.*, f. 72a; *T.Az.*, p. 80; *T.H.*, II, p. 222.
6. *T.Km.*, f. 122b; *N.A.*, f. 72a; *T.H.*, II, p. 222.
7. *T.Ks.*, f. 26a; *B.S.*, ff. 112a, 119a; *T.Km.*, f. 122a; *N.A.*, f. 71b; *T.Az.*, p. 80; *T.H.*, II, p. 222.
8. Ibid., f. 26a; Ibid., f. 112a; Ibid., f. 122a; Ibid., f. 71b; Ibid., p. 80; Ibid., p. 222.
9. Cf. *H.M.*, f. 112b; *R.N.*, f. 365a.

The ruthlessness of Mirzā Ḥaidar towards the Shī'īs was in fact dictated by political reasons and was designed to uproot the influence of the Chaks, who were generally Shī'īs.[1]

After the death of Mirzā Ḥaidar in 1551, Chak influence revived in Kashmīr again. In 1552 Ibrāhīm Shāh came to the throne and he appointed Daulat Chak as his *wazīr*.[2] He provided both moral and material support to the Shī'īs,[3] and asked the preachers of the mosques to recite the names of the twelve Imāms of the Isnā 'Asharī Shī'īs in the Kk*utba*.[4]

*Gh*āzī Shāh, who deposed Habīb Shāh, the last Shāh Mīr ruler, in 1561[5], went to the extent of executing a Ṣūfī named Saiyid Hamīd[6] and banished Shai*kh* Hamza from Srīnagar.[7] In the reign of his successor Husain Shāh Chak (1563-70), there were several incidents of Shī'ī—Sunnī conflict in which two Sunnī *'ulamā*, Mullā Yusuf and Mullā Firūz Ganā'ī, were executed because they had previously sentenced to death a Shī'ī who had seriously wounded Qāzī Habīb, the

1. At first Mirzā Ḥaidar had cordial relations with the Shī'īs of Kashmīr. He even visited the tomb of Mīr Shamsu'd-Dīn 'Irāqī at Jadībal and paid his respects there as a humble devotee (*B.S.*, ff. 109a-110b). But soon Regī Chak, a leading Shī'ī noble, revolted, and joined Kājī Chak, another Shī'ī noble. After this the attitude of the Mirzā towards the Shī'īs changed. *T.A.*, III, pt. II, pp. 709-10; *B.S.*, f. 211b. See also *T.Ks.*, ff. 25b-26a.
2. *B.S.*, f. 119a-b.
3. He gave large endowments to the descendants of 'Irāqī, and Bādā 'Alī Nājar and built mausoleums over the graves of 'Irāqī, Daniyal and Nājar. *B.S.*, ff. 120a-121a; *T.Az.*, p. 100; *T.H.*, II, p. 230.
4. *B.S.*, f. 122a; *T.H.*, II, p. 230.
5. *T.Ks.*, f. 28a; *B.S.*, f. 125b; *T.Km.*, f. 130b; *N.A.*, f. 76a; *T.Az.*, p. 89; *T.H.*, II, p. 233.
6. *T.Ks.*, f. 30a-b; *N.A.* f. 76a; *N.Az.*, p. 91; *T.H.*, II, p. 236. According to Ḥasan, *Gh*āzi Shāh killed another Ṣūfī named Saiyid Kamāl, through poison (*T.H.*, II, p. 235). Muḥibbu'l-Ḥasan, in his defence of *Gh*āzi Shāh, says that it would be wrong to assert that he was a fanatic Shī'ī, as neither the author of *B.S.*, nor Ḥaidar Malik have said so (*Sultāns*, p. 154). But this is no proof with which to repudiate the claim of the sources, which accuse *Ghā*zi of being a fanatic Shī'ī. And moreover Saiyid 'Alī, the author of *T.Ks.*, is an earlier authority than *B.S.*, or Ḥāidar Malik.
7. See supra, p. 29.

preacher of *Jāmi'-masjid* Srīnagar.[1]

However, in the reign of 'Alī-Shāh (1570-78), who followed a policy of tolerance towards the Sunnīs, peace was restored.[2] But the situation changed in the reign of Yūsuf Shāh, who was not able to maintain law and order properly.[3] His son Sultān Ya'qūb was a fickle-minded youth and persecuted both the *'ulamā* and the Sufīs.[4] In his reign Bābā Dāwud *Khākī*, the disciple of Shaikh Ḥamza, established a strong front against the Shī'īs. In his work *Dastūru's-Sālikin*, he states that the Shī'īs are heretics who have departed from the true faith, and therefore their wanton destruction is lawful.[5]

In support of his thesis he quotes the following saying ascribed to the Caliph 'Alī : "Towards the end of the world there will appear a group of people, known as *rawāfiz*, who will claim that they are my friends. But in fact they will be my enemies and if they come to you, you should kill them."[6] Bābā Dāwud was so hostile to the Shī'īs that, stung by the praise which his teacher Mullā Ḥāfiz Baṣīr once gave them, he left his company.[7]

Shaikh Ya'qūb Ṣufī, the contemporary of *Khākī*, also denounced the Shī'īs. Although he did not go to the lengths of *Khākī*, he believed that the only "right path" (*sirātu'l-mustaqīm*) was that of the Sunnīs and recommended that the company of the Shī'īs, whom he called innovators, should be avoided and even that meals should not be taken with them.[8]

1. *T.Ks.*, f. 28a; *T.A.*, III, pt. II, pp. 745-56; *B.S.*, ff. 127b-28b; *T.Km.*, f. 135b; *N.A.*, f. 83a; *T.Az.*, p. 91; *T.H.*, II, pp. 240-41.
2. Cf. Khākī, *Rishī-Nāmā*, f. 132a-b; *B.S.*, f. 137b; *T.Km.*, f. 139a; *T.Az.*, p. 92; *T.H.*, II, p. 244.
3. Cf. *T.Km.*, f. 114a-b; *T.Az.*, p. 93; *T.H.*, II, p. 249.
4. Cf. *B.S.*, f. 181a-b; *T.Km.*, f. 161a-b; *T.Az.*, pp. 98-99; *T.H.*, pp. 270-71.
5. *D.S.*, p. 148.
6. *D.S.*, p. 97.
7. *T.H.*, III, p. 172.
8. *Risāla-i-Zikrīya*, ff, 12a-b, 13a,

However, in 1586 Kashmīr was conquered by the Mu*gh*als.[1] But the Shī'ī-Sunnī conflict continued there down through the centuries. Soon after the annexation of Kashmīr by the Mu*gh*als, there was a severe Shī'ī-Sunnī riot in Srīnagar, in which Shamsu'd-Dīn 'Irāqī's tomb was once again desecrated.[2] In the seventeenth century *Khw*āja Khāwand Maḥmūd and his son Shai*kh* Moḥammad Mu'īn, made strenuous efforts to check the growth and popularity of Shī'ism in Kashmīr.[3] But in spite of the Ṣūfī opposition, the Shī'ī sect could not be completely uprooted.

1. See Appendix B.
2. *T.H.*, I, pp. 481-82.
3. Cf. Rizvi, *Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India*, pp. 184-85.

CHAPTER IX

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS DURING THE PERIOD COVERED

To sum up, we find that Maḥmūd of *Gh*aznī's incursions into Kashmīr in 1014 and 1016[1] opened the doors for the penetration of Muslims into the Valley long before the Shāh Mīr dynasty (1339-1561) was established. It facilitated the absorption of elements of Muslim culture into many aspects of the life of the Kashmīrīs under the Lohara dynasty (1003-1320, 1323-39), which by the beginning of the fourteenth century was disintegrating amidst chaos and confusion.

The Shāh Mīr dynasty established its rule not as a result of conquest but by a coup d'état,[2] and from 1339 to 1561, seventeen kings of this dynasty ruled over the country.

Under their prolonged and, for the first hundred and fifty years, stable rule, changes of far-reaching importance transformed Kashmīr.

Immigration from Persia and Central Asia began with the establishment of the dynasty, and continued throughout it. But the great wave of immigrants associated with the work of Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī and his son Mīr Muḥammad Hamadānī accelerated the process of Persianisation of the administration, and the development of a new way of life substantially different from that of old Kashmīr.

However, the intolerant attitude adopted by Sul*t*ān Sikandar and a few of his successors, under the influences already discussed[3] was exceptional rather than usual for the Sul*t*āns of Kashmīr. These historical accidents procured a generally peaceful change, with little bloodshed, from the ancient

1. Cf. supra, pp. 2-3.
2. Cf. supra, pp. 16-18.
3. Cf. supra, pp. 131-134.

Hindu system to a Persianised form of Muslim society: and culturally Kashmīr became part of the Irānian world, looking to Central Asia and Persia.

The Shāh Mīr Sul*t*āns, like all medieval rulers, were ambitious to aggrandize themselves at the cost of their neighbours; but the peculiar geographic situation of the Valley made it impossible for them to invade successfully any adjacent territories.

Sul*t*ān Shihābu'd-Dīn (1354-73) failed miserably in his scheme of conquest; no Sul*t*ān after him made any attempt to annex territories beyond the Kashmīr Valley. Their rule was confined to the Valley itself, and the submontane region to the west and the south. But this compulsory concentration upon a small closely-settled area ensured the clear and firm crystallization of the changes in culture, religion and social life which began with the new dynasty.

The attitude of the Shāh Mīr dynasty towards its subjects was on the whole one of sympathy and consideration. Non-Muslims embraced Islam owing to a number of different considerations and pressures, but the administration did not generally create situations in which they felt forced to abandon their former way of life. Thus in distant parts such as Ladā*kh* and Rājaurī, the non-Muslims under the Sul*t*āns of Kashmīr continued to follow their ancient beliefs and customs. Even the tolerant Jahāngīr (1605-1627) was shocked at the results of such leniency on the part of the Muslims of the Rājaurī Valley: "They ally themselves with Hindus, and both (Hindus and Muslims) give and take girls. Taking them is good, but giving them, God forbid !" I gave an order that hereafter they should not do such things, and whoever was guilty of them, should be capitally punished".[1]

In Srinagar, the capital of the Muslim government in the Valley of Kashmīr, life was definitely and permanently influenced by the Orthodox Persian system.

In the wake of the downfall of the Shāh Mīr dynasty and the usurpation of the throne by Mirzā Ḥaidar in 1540, intole-

1. P. 181, II, *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, English tr., Rogers and Beveridge, II, p. 181.

rance became dominant. Thus Abū'l Faẓl says[1] : "Owing to the Mīrzā's frigid and insipid bigotries, the result of imperfect development, the essentials for Kashmīr, *viz.*, unanimity and fidelity, found a bad market. And to this day there is an odour of bigotry about the Kashmīrīs, for there is a powerful influence in association, and especially a strong impression produced by the way of princes who are vigorous".

In short the example of the ruler inspired individuals, inconsequential in themselves, to exalt their own status by exhibiting vigorous religious bigotry against their social equals and inferiors : a phenomenon of which the world can still see examples.

The rule of the Chaks, from 1561 to 1586 was marked with confusion, internecine dissensions, and bitter rivalries. The generous traditions of Sul*tān* Zainu'l-'Ābidīn (1420-70) sank almost to death, and Kashmīr needed an Akbar (1556-1605) to restore peace and to rehabilitate the old pattern of life.

The following inscription, written by Abu'l-Faẓl to be inscribed upon a temple in Kashmīr,[2] indicates the spirit of the new government which Akbar introduced to the Valley[3] :

O God, in every temple I see people that seek Thee, and
in every language I hear spoken, people praise Thee !
Polytheism and Islam feel after Thee,
Each religion says, "Thou art one, without equal".

If it be a mosque, people murmur the holy prayer, and
if it be a Christian Church, people ring the bell from
love to Thee.
Sometimes I frequent the Christian cloister, and
sometimes the mosque,
But it is Thou whom I search from temple to temple.

Thy elect have no dealings with either heresy or

1. *A.N.*, English tr., H. Beveridge, I, pp. 484-85.
2. If they were ever inscribed, they have probably been destroyed; at any rate they have not been found.
3. *A.A.*, English tr., Blochmann, p. LV.

orthodoxy; for neither of them stands behind the screen
of Thy truth.
Heresy to the heretic, and religion to the orthodox,
But the dust of the rose petal belongs to the heart of the
perfume-seller.

Against such a background, the Ṣūfīs of Kashmīr lived, meditated, and sometimes taught.

The Social and Institutional Aspects of Kashmīrī Sufism

The ethical standards of the Ṣūfīs and moral values of the *khānqāhs* and educational institutions (*madrasas*) was an example to all Kashmīrīs whether Muslims or not, in all the diverse aspects of the social life.

While the reputation of the Ṣūfīs as a whole was impaired by the charlatanism and quackery, already described, of those Sūfīs who used the credulity of the ignorant for their own benefit, the guidance of more prominent individuals such as Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī, Saiyid Muḥammad Amīn and Bābā Dāwud *Kh*ākī, was a great help to society. The Rishīs were a beacon of decency to all Kashmīrīs.

The sources, being essentially hagiographical, do not offer any more evidence of the social impact of the Sūfī movement than has already been extracted.

It would be unhistorical to formulate theories on the basis of present conditions, or on the basis of the material found and conditions prevailing in other parts of the Islamic world.

It would be particularly dangerous, in view of the unique position of Kashmīr, to rely upon the deductions made from what is known about the effect of Sūfism upon contemporary society in other parts of Islamic world where conditions were totally different.

APPENDIX A

The Works of Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī[1]
[Abbr. R=Risāla]

Name of the Book	British Museum	Malik Library Tehrān[2]	Research Department Srīnagar	Rizā Library Rāmpur	Other Libraries
R. Amīrīya		**			
R. 'Aqlīya	Add. 16840	**			Bib. Nat., Paris, 2249.
R. 'Arba'īn		**	1966		
R. Asrāu'-Naqt		**	1966		
*R. Asrār-i-Rūḥī		**			
R. Asnād-i-Hilyā-i-Ḥazrat-i-Risālat	Add. 16840				
*R. Aurādīya	Add. 16840		1966		
R. Bahrām Shāh		**			

1. * Indicates that the work is in Arabic, and ** that the number is not available.
2. Vide, Asghar 'Alī Ḥikmat, "Les Voyages d'un Mystique Persan de Hamadān au Kashmīr", *Journal Asiatique*, CCXL, 1952, pp. 58ff...

Name of the Book	British Museum	Malik Library Tehrān	Research Department Srīnagar	Rizā Library Rāmpur	Other Libraries
R. Chihil Asrār	Add. 16840 Add. 16779			**	Bankīpur Library, India, 150. Bib. Nat., Paris, 2249.
R. Dah-Qā'ida	Add. 16832 Add. 16840	**	1966	**	
R. Dar bāb-i-'Ulamā-i-Dīn		**			
R. Darweshīya	Add. 16840	**			
R. Dāwudīya	Add. 16840	**			
R. Faqarīya		**	1966		
R. Futūḥīya	Add. 16840	**	1966	**	Bib. Nat., Paris, 2249.
R. Ḥalu'l-Faṣūṣ	Add. 16840				India Office, 1357/9.
R. Hamadānīya	Add. 16840	**		**	
R. Ḥaqīqat-i-Īmān		**			
R. Insānīya	Add. 16840	**			
R. Istilāḥāt-i-Ṣūfīya	Add. 16840		1966		
R. I'tiqādīya	Add. 16840	**		**	Bib. Nat., Paris, 2249.
R. Kashfu'l-Ḥaqā'iq	Add. 16840		1966		

Name of the Book	British Museum	Malik Library Tehrān	Research Department Srīnagar	Rizā Library Rāmpur	Other Libraries
*R. *Kh*awātiriya	Add. 16840		1966		
*R. *Khutba*-i-Amīrīya	Add. 16840				
R. Makārimu'l-A*kh*lāq	Add. 16840		1966		
R. Maktūbāt	Add. 16840	**	1966	**	
R. Manāmīya	Add. 16840	**		**	
R. Maqāmātu'l-Ṣūfīya	Add. 16840	**			
R. Mashāribu'l-Azwāq	Add. 16840	**		*	India Office, 1922/12; Bib. Nat., Paris, 2142 and 2249.
R. Mashīya	Add. 16840				
R. Mirātu'l-Ta'ibīn		**	**	1966	
R. Muchlaka		**			
R. Munājāt	Add. 16840			1966	
R. Muwaddat	Add. 16840				
R. Nūrīya	Add. 16840	**			
R. Sa'ādat-Nāmā	Add. 16840			1966	
R. Sairu'l-*T*ālibīn	Add. 16840	**			
R. Sharḥ-i-Mushkilḥal	Add. 16840	**	**	1966	Bib. Nat., Paris, 2249.
R. Ṣifātu'l-Fuqara		**			

Name of the Book	British Museum	Malik Library Tehrān	Research Department Srīnagar	Rizā Library Rāmpur	Other Libraries
R. Talqīnīya		**			
R. 'Uqbāt		**			
R. Wāridāt	Add. 16840	**		**	
R. Wujūdīya		**		**	
R. Zikrīya	Add. 16840	**	1966		Bib. Nat., Paris, 2249.
R. Zikrīya-i-'Arabia'		**	1966		
Zakhīratu'l-Mulūk	Add. 16840	**	1824	**	India Office 2176; Bib. Nat., Paris, 2225; Bankipur Library.
Ms. A) Untitled	Add. 16840				
Ms. B)					
Ms. C) Treatises					

APPENDIX A. 1

A Note on the authorship of the Risāla-i-Dah Qā'ida

Molé[1] and Meier[2] believe that the *Risālā-i-Dah Qā'ida* is the Persian translation of Najmu'd-Dīn Kubrā's Arabic work *Uṣūl al-asrār*. Molé begins his article by stating that the *Risāla-i-Dah Qā'ida* is "one of the best known works of Irānian mysticism, as the very numerous manuscripts prove". He continues: "Its distribution is not limited to the Kubravīya order; it has been copied, read, meditated upon by members of all the great Irānian orders."[3] In saying this he testifies to the widespread fame of the text; but its fame alone does not justify the uncritical acceptance of Najmu'd-Dīn Kubrā as its author.

M. Molé's purpose being to introduce the text (published apparently only once, in an edition "almost impossible to find, and practically unknown")[4] to a wider reading public, it may not have seemed important to him to consider, in his short article, whether or not Najmu'd-Dīn was really the original author.

Saiyid 'Alī does not acknowledge his authorship, and in *Chihil-Maqāmāt* he himself expresses similar ideas; this work is indisputably by the Saiyid.[5]

1. La version persane du Traité des dix principes de Najm al-Din Kobra, par 'Ali b. Shihab al-Din Hamadānī", *Farhang-i.Īrān-Zamīn*, VI, 1337 sh.
2. *Der Islam*, XXIV, 1937.
3. Molé, op. cit., p. 38.
4. Ibid., p. 51, n. 2.
5. Cf. Molé "Les Kubrāwiya entre Sunnisme et Shiisme aux huitième et neuvime siècles de l'hegire", *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, XXIX, 1961, p. 111; Teufel, *Eine Lebensbeschreibung des Scheichs 'Alī-i-Hamadānī*, p. 49.

This raises at least a doubt about the original authorship of the work. It should perhaps be noted that Molé and Meier, who might indeed have had no evidence to hand, have not offered a history of the text; so they can give no conclusive evidence that it existed before Saiyid 'Alī's tīme, and none is known to the present author from other sources.

Even were the work accepted as Najmu'd-Dīn's, the ten principles were claimed by Saiyid 'Alī as a fundamental part of his own thought. As such, they are important for this study.

APPENDIX B

The view that Shaikh Ya'qūb Ṣarfī was largely responsible for the Mughal invasion of Kashmīr is untenable. Kashmīr occupied an important place in Akbar's scheme of conquest. Long before Sultān Ya'qūb came to the throne (1586), Akbar had decided to annex Kashmīr. In the fifth year of his reign (1560-61) Akbar had sent Mirzā Qarā Bahādur Khān, the brother of Mirza Ḥaidar, to invade Kashmīr, but the scheme petered out.[1] However, to avoid further Mughal invasions, the Kashmīrī Sultāns continued to send rich gifts to the Emperor;[2] the Mughal ambassadors too occasionally visited the Kashmīrī court[3] and even interfered in local disputes.[4]

The ambitious designs of 'Abdu'llāh Khān Uzbeg of Turān, who wished to seize Kashghar, made the annexation of Kashmīr inevitable for Akbar. The crisis was precipitated because of the deposition of Yūsuf Shāh, the father of Sultān Ya'qūb, in 1579 by Saiyid Mubārak Baihaqī.[5] In a bid to regain the throne Yūsuf Shāh sought the help of Akbar,[6] which was given.[7] Meanwhile Yūsuf Shāh regained the throne with his own efforts.[8] However, Akbar, towards the end of 1581 sent an imperial officer named Ṣāliḥ 'Āqil to advise Yūsuf Shāh to accept his overlordship.[9] In order to placate the Emperor Yūsuf Shāh sent one of his sons, Prince Ḥaldar, to the Mughal court with some gifts.[10]

1. *A.N.*, II, pp. 128, 129.
2. *T.A.*, III, pt. II, pp. 746, 750.
3. Ibid., *B.S.*, f. 128b.
4. Cf. *T.A.*, III, pt. II, pp. 746-7.
5. Ibid., p. 754; *B.S.*, f. 148a. See also *A.N.*, III, p. 289.
6. Ibid., pp. 289-90; *T.A.*, III, pt. II, p. 756; *B.S.*, f. 148a.
7. *T.A.*, III, pt. II, p. 756; *B.S.*, f. 157a-b.
8. Ibid., pp. 756-7; Ibid., f. 158a.
9. *A.N.*, III, p. 375; *T.A.*, III, pt. II, p. 758; *B.S.*, f. 174b.
10. *A.N.*, III, p. 375; *T.A.*, pt. III, pt. II, p. 758.

Encouraged by the success of Ṣāliḥ the Emperor in 990/1582 sent Shai*kh* Ya'qūb Ṣarfī along with Prince Ḥaldar with a *farmān* to Yūsuf Shāh.[1] The contents of the *farmān* are not known, but if commensurate with the imperial policy, he would have been urged to accept Akbar's paramountcy on almost the same terms which had been accepted by the Rājput chiefs. Nothing is known about the success of Ṣarfī's mission, but Ābū'l-Fazal's silence over the matter shows that Ṣarfī failed to get a positive response to the *farmān* and some evasive reply must have been given to him.

After the death of Mirzā Ḥakīm, Akbar himself marched to Kābul on August 22, 1585, and early in October, when he reached Kalānūr, he deputed Ḥakīm 'Alī and Bahāu'd-Dīn Kambū to Kashmīr.[2] They were to tell Yūsuf Shāh that previously he had offered the excuse of long distance to avoid presenting himself at the imperial court, but now the Emperor was in the neighbourhood and he should at once come to pay his respects to him.[3] Yūsuf Shāh failed to obey the imperial command and the Mu*gh*al envoy returned unsuccessful and apprised the Emperor of the situation.[4]

Akbar, who was determined to annex Kashmīr, sent an army under Shāh Ru*kh* and Rāja Bhagwān Dās against Yūsuf Shāh; Shai*kh* Ya'qūb was also sent with the imperial army,[5] perhaps to serve as a guide. Shai*kh* Ya'qūb succeeded in persuading the *zamindārs* (chiefs) of Karnāh (west of Kashmīr) to surrender to the Mu*gh*al army, which decided to penetrate into the Valley from there.[6] Yūsuf Shāh, finding defeat inevitable, surrendered on 14 February, 1586.[7] The Mu*gh*al army, without subjugating the country, returned along with Yūsuf Shāh, who was presented to Akbar at Attack on March 28, 1586.[8] Yūsuf Shāh was not allowed to return to the Valley and

1. *A.N.*, III, pp. 389-90.
2. *A.N.*, III, p. 469; *T.A.*, III, pt. II, p. 759.
3. *A.N.*, III, p. 469.
4. Ibid., p. 474.
5. Ibid., pp. 474-5; *B.S.*, f. 175a.
6. *A.N.*, III, p. 481.
7. Ibid., pp. 488-9; *B.S.*, ff. 175b-176a.
8. *A.N.*, III, pp. 480-1.

was placed under the custody of Rāja Todar Mal.[1] Meanwhile, Ya'qūb, the eldest son of Yūsuf Shāh, declared himself the Sul*t*ān of Kashmīr.[2]

Although important nobles pleaded to Akbar that the conquest of Kashmīr was a difficult task, Shai*kh* Ya'qūb Ṣarfī represented that the grandees of that country would follow his advice and if the Panjāb troops were sent with him, Kashmīr would be seized without fighting.[3] Akbar did not underestimate the situation and sent another army under Qāsim *Kh*ān along with Ṣarfī.[4] From Karanbal[5] an army was sent with Ṣarfī to fight against the Kashmīrī army, which was proceeding to give battle. At Hastivanj[6] a skirmish took place between the imperial vanguard, led by Shai*kh* Ya'qūb Ṣarfī, and a Kashmīrī army, in which Ṣarfī was seriously wounded and was removed from the battlefield by his friends.[7]

Sul*t*ān Ya'qūb, because of the dissensions in his camp,[8] could not fight against the imperial army and retired to Kishtwār.[9] Thus the imperial army conquered the Valley in October 1586 and annexed it to the Mu*gh*al Empire.[10]

1. *A.N.*, III, p. 488.
2. *B.S.*, f. 178b; see also *A.N.*, III, p. 496.
3. *A.N.*, III, p. 496.
4. Ibid., *B.S.*, f. 182b.
5. Karanbal of Karparthal is nine miles east of Rajaurī, on the Hirpora route.
6. From a point close to the 'Ālīābād Sarāi (on Pīr-Panjāl range of mountains) a high mountain ridge which slopes down from the south and falls off towards the Valley in a wall of precipitous cliffs, is called Hastivanj : cf. *R.Tk.*, II, p. 394.
7. *A.N.*, III, p. 503; *B.S.*, f. 184a.
8. Because of his arrogant nature many leading nobles including Shī'īs such as Bahādur Chak and Naurag Chak deserted him and joined the Mu*gh*als; and while he was retreating to Kishtwār, only a few of his followers remained with him; cf. *B.S.*, ff. 181a-185a.
9. *A.N.*, III, pp. 515-6. Ya'qūb Shāh, however, soon returned to the Valley and many Kashmīrīs, owing to the oppressive rule of Qāsim *Kh*ān (cf. *A.N.*, III, p. 521) rallied to him. For about two years he made continuous night attacks on the Mu*gh*als and subjected them to harassment. He finally surrendered in 1588, when Akbar visited Kashmīr; cf. *A.N.*, pp. 515, 521-3, 558; *B.S.*, ff. 185a-190b.
10. *A.N.*, III, p. 507.

A'ẓamī[1] and Ḥasan[2] assert that because of the persecution of Sunnīs by Sul*t*ān Ya'qūb, Shai*kh* Ya'qūb Ṣarfī and some other nobles and Ṣūfīs went to the court of Akbar and pleaded for a Mu*gh*al invasion of the Valley, in order to put an end to the intolerant policy of Sul*t*ān Ya'qūb. In order to safeguard the interests of the people of their country, it is said that they entered into an agreement with the Emperor to the following effect.

1. That the Emperor would not interfere with the religious affairs of the Kashmīrīs and he would not change the previous laws relating to the price of cereals.
2. That Kashmīrī men and women should not be made slaves and concubines.
3. That the supporters of Sul*t*ān Ya'qūb should not be given any authority in the administration of Kashmīr.

Among modern scholars, G.M. Sūfī[3] and Muḥibbu'l-Ḥasan[4] accept the version of A'ẓamī and Ḥasan as correct although no earlier source, either Mu*gh*al or Kashmīrī, mentions it. The foregoing discussion clearly shows that the Mu*gh*al conquest of Kashmīr was not initiated by Shai*kh* Ya'qūb, but formed a part of Akbar's ambitious scheme of conquest. He himself evaluated the conditions and was not misled by the representations of Shai*kh* Ya'qūb, who underestimated the situation, nor was he discouraged by the argument of his nobles who advocated that the conquest to Kashmīr was a difficult affair. The story of his entering into an agreement with the Kashmīrī Sūfīs and nobles seems to be a later concoction. It is unlikely that Akbar would accept terms, for he knew his own strength sufficiently well.

1. *T.Az.*, p. 99.
2. *T.H.*, II, p. 271.
3. *Kashmīr*, I, p. 234.
4. *Sultāns*, p. 184.

APPENDIX C

Lallā's association with Saiyid 'Alī Hamadādī is based on the following legend. It is said that she was in the habit of wandering in a semi-nude or even nude condition, and when remonstrated with for such disregard for decency, she replied that there were no men (in Kashmīr), so whom should she fear. One day she saw Saiyid 'Alī at a distance, rushed to a baker's shop and jumped there into the blazing oven. After some time she appeared from the mouth of the oven properly clad, met Saiyid 'Alī and became his constant companion.[1]

The story at its face value seems to be concocted and deserves no literal credence, even if we disregard the miracle of the oven. A story very similar to this will be found in Merutunga's *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*,[2] where the hero is a Kṣatriya named Jagaddeva, and the unclothed lady a dancing girl.

Temple further observes that to Lallā "all religions were at one in their essentials. This doctrine of the Muhammadan Sūfīs she no doubt learnt in her association with Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī and perhaps other Muhammadan saint".[3] Temple wrongly assumes that the Saiyid was a Naqshbandī saint and that he was unorthodox.[4] Had he gone through the works of Saiyid 'Alī, perhaps he would not have made such a statement. Saiyid 'Alī was an orthodox Sūfī; to him Islam was the only true religion and his political thought clearly shows that he believed that there could be no compromise between a believer and an unbeliever.[5]

Some modern scholars, including Temple[6] and Kaumudi,[7]

1. Temple, *The word of Lallā*, pp. 8-9; Kaul, "Life Sketch of Laleshwari", *Indian Antiquary*, December, 1921, p. 310.
2. Eng. Tr., Tawney, p. 186.
3. Temple, op. cit., p. 2.
4. Ibid., pp. 2, 5.
5. See supra, ch. III.
6. *The word of Lallā*, pp. 79-80.
7. *Kashmir : Its Cultural Heritage*, p. 57.

tend to indicate that Lallā conceived the idea that "God is one reality" from her association with Muslim saints such as Saiyid 'Alī. But these scholars appear to ignore the fact that this idea had long existed in Hinduism. Even as early as in the Rig Vedic hymns, we meet with the idea of "One Reality".[1] This is also the principal teaching of the *Upaniṣads*, that whatever is, is *Brahman*; it is the source and the end of all.[2] In the earlier *Upaniṣads* "Brahman" seems generally to be thought of as an impersonal principle, but in the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, which is comparatively late, this conception comes close to a true monotheism, where Rudra is conceived as "the One God".[3]

In fact there is no trace of Islamic influence in Lallā's verses. Like Kabīr or Nānak, she nowhere mentions Allāh, though Grierson and Temple suspect that the word *jin*, which Lallā uses in the following verses, is a reference to the Arabic term *jin*[4] ("a demon, an angel, or genius"). She says :

> "Shiv or Keshav, Lotus-Lord or Jin :
> These be names. Yet takest Thou from me;
> All the ill that is my world within;
> He be Thou, or he, or he, or he".[5]

In these verses Lallā refers to God by various names. "Keshav" is Vishnu and "Lotus Lord" is Brahmā. She says

1. The best examples of it are the *Puruṣa-Sūkta* (*Rig Veda*, x. 90) and the *Nāsadīya-Sūkta* (*Rig Veda*, x. 129), both of which, in different ways, speak of "One Reality" which is the source of all things. *Rig Veda*, I, 164, 46, explicitly says : "They call him Indra, Mitra, Varuna, and Agni; he is the heavenly bird Garutmat : to what is one, the poets give many a name; they call it Agni, Yama, Mātariśvān".

   Cf. S.N. Dasgupta, *History of Indian Philosophy*, I, pp. 19 ff.; M. Hiryanna, *Outlines of Indian Philosophy*, pp. 38-43.

2. See chapters on *Upaniṣads* in Dasgupta, and Hiryanna, op. cit...

3. "Truly Rudra is one, there is no place for a second, who rules all these worlds with his ruling powers. He stands opposite Creatures. He, the protector, after creating all worlds, withdraws them at the end of time". Radhakrishnan, *The Principal Upanisads*, p. 725. See also Hiryanna, op. cit., p. 83.

4. *Lallā-Vākyāni*, p. 30; *The Word of Lallā*, p. 170.

5. Ibid., p. 171.

that by whatever name the worshipper may call the Supreme, he is still Supreme. It is most unlikely that Lallā would have used the Arabic term *jin* with this in mind, as *jin* is no attribute of God in Islam. In fact *jin* is a Sanskrit word, the literal meaning of which is "victor", and it is used both for Buddha and Mahā-vīra. Lallā is probably thinking of Buddha, in his heavenly form as conceived by late Mahāyāna mythology, for there were no Jains in Kashmīr at the time, while Buddhism of the Tibetan type was still strong in outlying areas.

The sources of Lallā's religion were the indigenous school of Kashmīr Śaivism and those Hindu scholars and ascetics who came to Kashmīr from time to time. Al-Berunī says : "Muḥmud utterly ruined the prosperity of the country, and performed there wonderful exploits, by which the Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions...This is the reason, too, why Hindu sciences have retired far away from those parts of the country conquered by us, and have fled to places which our hand cannot yet reach, to Kashmīr, Benaraṣ, and other places".[1] It seems that this chain of Hindu saints and scholars continued to pour into Kashmīr down to Lallā's time.[2]

1. *Kitabu'l-Hind*, Eng. Tr., Sachau (*Alberuni's India*), I, p. 22.
2. Cf. Jonarāja, *Rājataranginī*, Kaul, p. 126.

APPENDIX D

Comparative analysis of the sources regarding the lives and activities of Saiyid ‘Alī Hamadānī, Shaikh Nūru’d-Dīn and his disciples.

Saiyid ‘Alī Hamadānī :

	K.M.	*T.Ks.*	*A.Ab.*	*Mastūrāt*	*F.K.*	*T.H. III*	*T.K.*	*Other Sources*
Born at Hamadān on 12 Rajab, 714/22 October, 1314.					f. 54a	p. 11	p. 10	
Father, a *ḥākim* of Hamadān	p. 441				f. 54b	p. 11		
Received early education from his maternal uncle ‘Alā’u’d-Daula	p. 441				f. 54b	p. 11	p. 11	
Received initiation into Kubravī order from Shaikh Muzdaqāni	p. 451		f. 10a	f. 350b	f. 54b	p. 12		*N.U.* p. 290; *Haft-Iqlīm*, II, p. 539.
Received initiation into Kubravīya order from Taqīu’d-Dīn							p. 11	

	K.M.	*T.Ks.*	*A.Ab.*	*Mastūrāt*	*F.K.*	*T.H. III*	*T.K.*	*Other Sources*
Shai*kh* Muzdaqānī sent him to Taqīu'd-Dīn					f. 55a			
Went to Taqīu'd-Dīn			f. 10b	f. 355b		p. 12		*N.U.*, p. 290.
Stayed with him for two years					f. 55a			
After the death of Taqīu'd-Dīn returned to Shai*kh* Muzdaqānī			f. 10b		f. 55a	p. 12		*N.U.*, p. 290.
Received guidance from 'Alā'u'd-Daula Simnānī					f. 55a			
Collected 400 traditions, from the prominent saints, including 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Simnānī	p. 453-54							
Travelled around the world three times								*Haft-Iqlīm*, II, p. 539.
Tīmūr invited in order to test his spiritual powers					f. 58a-b	p. 13	p. 16	

	K.M.	*T.Ks.*	*A.Ab.*	*Mastūrāt*	*F.K.*	*T.H. III*	*T.K.*	*Other Sources*
Migrated to Kashmīr because of Tīmūr's persecution					f. 58b	p. 13	p. 16	
Reported to have remarked that wherever he went God asked him to travel and to preach.	p. 573							
Shai*kh* Muzdaqānī asked him to travel and to preach	pp. 560-61				f. 55b			
The Prophet appeared to him in a dream and asked to go to Kashmīr and preach Islam there				f. 420a				
Travelled in the company of Saiyid Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī								*Akhbāru'-l-Akhyār* p. 166
Sent two of his cousins to Kashmīr, prior to his arrival to survey the religious and political atmosphere		f. 1a			f. 69b			*T.Az.*, p. 35; *G.A.*, f. 116a-b.

	K.M.	*T.Ks.*	*A.Ab.*	*Mastūrāt*	*F.K.*	*T.H. III*	*T.K.*	*Other Sources*
Reached Kashmīr in 783/1381-82								*B.S*,, f. 23a; *T.Km.*, f. 91a; *N.A.*, f. 35a.
Reached Kashmir in 786/1384-85		f. 2a						
Reached in 785/1383-84, according to the chronogram quoted by the chronicler Saiyid 'Alī		f. 3a						
Reached in 741/1340-41				ff. 347b-48a				
Visited Kashmīr only once during the reign of Sulṭān Quṭbu'd-Dīn								*Tarīkh-i-Rashīdī*, pp. 432-3; *A.A.*, II, p. 185; *B.S.*, f. 23a; *T.Km.*, f. 91a; *N.A.*, f. 35a *T.Az.*, p. 36.

	K.M.	*T.Ks.*	*A.Ab.*	*Mastūrāt*	*F.K.*	*T.H. III*	*T.K.*	*Other Sources*
Visited Kashmīr three times in 774/1372-73, 781/1379-80, and 785/1383-84.						pp. 14-15	pp. 12-14	
Was accompanied by 700 Saiyids					f. 58b	p. 15	p. 12	*N.A.* f. 35a; *T.Az.* p. 36; *G.A.*, f. 119a.
Converted a large number of Non-Muslims to Islam in Kashmīr		ff. 2b-3a		f. 420a	f. 59a	p. 16	p. 14	*N.A.*, f. 35a.
Sul*t*ān Qu*t*bu'd-Dīn gave up Hindu dress on his advice.			f. 19b					*B.S.*, f 25a; *T.Kh.*, f. 109b; *T.Km.*, f. 93a; *T.Az.*, p. 36.
Left Kashmīr because of conflict with Sul*t*ān Qu*t*bu'd-Dīn								*B.S*, f. 25a; *T.Kh.*, ff. 109b-110a; *T.Km.*, f. 93a.

	K.M.	*T.Ks.*	*A.Ab.*	*Mastūrāt*	*F.K.*	*T.H. III*	*T.K.*	*Other Sources*
Stayed at Kunār on the request of its chief.	p. 580		f. 19b					*B.S.*, f. 25a; *T.Az.*, p. 37.
Died at Kunār on 6 Zū'l-Hijja, 786/19 January, 1385	p. 580		f. 19b			p. 17.	p. 15	*B.S.*, f. 25a; *T.Az.*, f. 37.
Died at Kābul in 786/1384-85								*Haft-Iqlīm*, II. p. 539.
Buried at *Kh*atlān on 25 Jumādu'l-Auwal, 787/14 July, 1385	p. 580							
On Jumādu'l-Auwal, 787/16 June, 1385								*T.Az.*, p. 37.
Author of 170 works					f. 57b	p. 12		

Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn Rishī

	R.N.	*A.Ab.*	*T.Az.*	*F.K.*	*R.Nm.*	*T.H. III*	*T.K.*	*Other Sources*
Was born in 779/1378	f. 129a		p. 64	f. 86b	f. 12a		p. 92	
Was born in 757/1356-57		f. 52b				p. 125		
His name mentioned as Nand	f. 131b	f. 56b		f. 86b	f. 19b		p. 95	
Father's name given as Sālār Ganā'ī	f. 129a			ff. 84b, 89b	f. 10b	p. 117	p. 91	
Belonging to the tribe of "Watchers"	f. 129a			f. 84b			p. 92	
From the descendants of the rulers of Kishtwār					f. 10b	p. 117		
Lallā asks to drink milk					f. 12b	p. 117	p. 92	
Becomes a thief	f. 136a	ff. 55b-56a		f. 84b	f. 12b	p. 117	p. 92	

	R.N.	*A.Ab.*	*T.Az.*	*F.K.*	*R.Nm.*	*T.H. III*	*T.K.*	*Other Sources*
Goes to a house to steal and brings out pestle etc.	ff. 136a-137a	ff. 58b-59a		ff. 85b-86a	ff. 13a-14a	pp. 117-8	p. 92-3	
Goes to a house to steal but flings his own blanket on the inmates there	f. 137 a-b	f. 59a-b		f. 86a	ff. 14b-15a	p. 118	p. 93	
Goes to a weaver and conversation with him	ff. 138a-139a	ff. 60a-b		ff. 86a-b	ff. 15b-16b	p. 118	p. 94	
The Prophet comes in a dream	ff. 132b-133a				f. 19b		p. 95	
Lallā cries at him		f. 56a		f. 84b				
Stays in a cave at Kaimuh	ff. 132a-133a	f. 62a		f. 86a	f. 20b	pp. 118-9	p. 94	
Receives guidance from Saiyid Ḥusain			p. 64	ff. 69b, 82a				
Conversation with Muḥammad Hamadānī	f. 215 a-b	f. 236 a-b		f. 90a		pp. 123-4	p. 96	*T.Ks.*, ff. 33b-34a.

	R.N.	*A.Ab.*	*T.Az.*	*F.K.*	*R.Nm.*	*T.H. III*	*T.K.*	*Other Sources*
Becomes his disciple				f. 90a-b		p. 124	p. 96	
Preceptor not known called "Uwaisī"	f. 131b	f. 52a						*Khākī*, *Rishī-Nāmā*, f. 43a; *D.S.*, p. 213.
Mother demands her rights	ff. 140b-141a	f. 61a-b		f. 86	ff. 28b-29a	p. 120	p. 94	
Gives up eating vegetables	f. 150b	f. 63b	p. 63	f. 87a	f. 61a	p. 121		
Gives up drinking milk	ff. 152b-153a	f. 64b			f. 62a-b	p. 122		
Drinks water only	f. 153a	ff. 64b-65a			ff.65b-63a	p. 123		
Swallowed a burnt stick in his mouth instead of a fish	f. 150b					p. 121	p. 97	
Girl visits him to seduce	ff. 158 a, b 159a.				f. 32b	p. 121		

	R.N.	*A.Ab.*	*T.Az.*	*F.K.*	*R.Nm.*	*T.H. III*	*T.K.*	*Other Sources*
Discussion with Maulānā Mānak	ff. 172b, 173a-b							
Discussion with Bāmu'd-Dīn	ff. 254a, 255a, b	f. 70a, b	pp. 64-5	f. 92a, b	ff. 38a-b; 39a-b	pp. 126-7	pp. 100-1	*T.Ks.*, 32a-b; 37b.
Discussion with Zainu'd-Dīn	ff. 283a, b	f. 37a, b		f. 95a	ff. 49b, 50a.	pp. 128-9	pp. 101-2	*T.Ks.*, 34b, 35a.
Discussion with Latīfu'd-Dīn	f. 294a	f. 78a	p. 65	f. 98b	ff. 59 a-b	pp. 132-3	p. 104	*T.Ks.*, f. 39a
Discussion with Naṣru'd-Dīn	ff. 296a, b	ff. 79b, 80a.	pp. 65-6	f. 100b	ff. 30a, b	p. 133	pp. 104-5	*T Ks.*, f. 40a, b.
Died on 26 Ramaẓān 842/12 March, 1439	f. 155b		p. 64				p. 99	
Died in 808/1405-06		f. 68b						
Zainu'l-'Ābidīn attended his funeral					f. 71a		p. 99	
Buried at Chrār	f. 155b	f. 68b	p. 64				p. 99	

Bāmu'd-Dīn Rishī

	T.Ks.	*R.N.*	*A.Ab.*	*K.S.*	*T.Az.*	*F.K.*	*T.H. III*	*T.K.*
Before becoming a Rishī was a famous Brahman, named Bhum Sidh, living at Bamuzū	ff. 32a, 37a	f. 254b	f. 70a			f. 92b	p. 126	p. 100
Used to take bath at five different places in Kashmīr daily		f. 254b	f. 70a			f. 92b	p. 126	p. 100
Shai*kh* Nūru'd-Dīn visited him with a bloody cow skin on his shoulders, and asked to accept Islam as the idols to which he was worshipping were lumps of stones. The Shai*kh* addressed the idols which at once gave tongue and supported the Shai*kh*'s claim.		ff. 254b-55a	f. 70a-b			ff. 92b-93a	p. 127	p. 101

	T.Ks.	*R.N.*	*A.Ab.*	*K.S.*	*T.Az.*	*F.K.*	*T.H. III*	*T.K.*
Bhum Sidh in order to impress the Shai*kh* flew up in the sky. The Shai*kh* sent his shoes after him. Convinced of the Shai*kh*'s superiority Bhum Sidh accepted Islam.	f. 32a-b				pp. 64-5			
The Shai*kh* named him Bāmud-Dīn		f. 262a					p. 127	p. 101
After becoming a Rishī lived for twelve years	p. 32a		ff. 71b-72a		p. 65	f. 93b	p. 128	p. 102
Kept no servant and maintained no kitchen			f. 72a		p. 65		p. 128	p. 102
Used to eat crushed stone for food	f. 38a	f. 280 a-b	f. 72a			f. 93b	p. 128	p. 102
Used to drink water only					p. 65			
Sul*t*ān 'Alī Shāh visited him						f. 93b	p 128	
The contemporary Sul*t*ān visited him	f. 38b	f. 280 a-b	f. 72b					

	T.Ks.	R.N.	A.Ab.	K.S.	T.Az.	F.K.	T.H. III	T.K.
Asked the Sulṭān not to visit him again		f. 282b	f. 72b			f. 93b	p. 128	
Zainu'd-Dīn Rishī came from Tibet miraculously to attend his funeral		ff. 282b-283a			p. 65	f. 93b	p. 128	p. 102
Buried at Bamuzū		f. 283a			p. 65	f. 93b	p. 128	p. 102

Zainu'd-Dīn Rishī

	T.Ks.	*R.N.*	*A.Ab.*	*R.Nm.*	*T.Az.*	*F.K.*	*T.H. III*	*T.K.*	*Other Sources*
Original name Ziya Singh			f. 73b		p. 64	f. 94b		p. 102	
Original name Zaina Singh		f. 49b			p. 64		p. 128		
Hailed from Kishtwār			f. 73b	f. 49b			p. 128		
Father descendant of the rulers of that country			f. 73b	f. 49b			p. 128		
Was killed by his enemies when Zainu'd-Dīn was quite young	f. 34b	f. 283b	f. 73b	f. 49b		f. 94b	p. 128	p. 102	
Fell seriously ill, Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn appeared miraculously at his sick bed and told his mother that if they both would later come to Kashmīr and accept Islam he would pray for his recovery	ff. 34b-35a	f. 284a	f. 73b	f. 49b		ff. 94b-95a	pp. 128-9	p. 102	

	T.Ks.	*R.N.*	*A.Ab.*	*R.Nm.*	*T.Az.*	*F.K.*	*T.H. III*	*T.K.*	*Other Sources*
Came to Kashmīr because of Divine grace and accepted Islam at the hands of Nūru'd-Dīn					p. 64				
Was searching for a guide, met Nūru'd-Dīn and became his disciple									*K.S.*, f. 42a
Settled at 'Aish-Maqām		f. 284b	f. 74a		p. 64	f. 95a	p. 129	p. 102	
Settled at the village Shaiva	f. 35b								
Found snakes in the cave he wanted to live in. Ordered them out		ff. 288b-289b	f. 74a-b			ff. 94b-95a	p. 129	pp. 102-3	
Decided to live on raw nuts		f. 288a-b	f. 75a			f. 95b	p. 130	p. 103	
Caused a spring at the village Āina		f. 288a	ff. 74b-75a	ff. 49b-50a	p. 64	f. 95a	pp. 129-30	p. 104	

	T.Ks.	*R.N.*	*A.Ab.*	*R.Nm.*	*T.Az.*	*F.K.*	*T.H. III*	*T.K.*	*Other Sources*
Caused Shāhkul canal to dry		ff. 289b-290a		f. 86a-b		f. 95b	pp. 130-1		
Was exiled to Tibet by Zainu'l-'Abidīn	ff. 19b, 35b-36a	ff. 291a-b	f. 76a-b	f. 107 a-b		f. 95b	p. 131		
On his arrival there, the son of the Tibetan ruler died	f. 36a		f. 76b			f. 96a	p. 131		
The son of newly converted Muslim died		f. 291 b							
The son of one of the Queen's attendants died				f. 108b					
Zainu'd-Dīn was accused for this misfortune and was threatened to be put to death. Prayed to God and the dead got life.	f. 36a	ff. 291b-292a	f. 76b	f. 108b		f. 96a	p. 131		
Zainu'l-'Ābidīn got a boil on his foot	ff. 19b, 36b	f. 292a	f. 77a-b	f. 109a		f. 96a	p. 131		

	T.Ks.	*R.N.*	*A.Ab.*	*R.Nm.*	*T.Az.*	*F.K.*	*T.H. III*	*T.K.*	*Other Sources*
Approached Ḥājī Adham, who told that the boil was the result of Zainu'd-Dīn's displeasure	f. 19b, 36b			f. 109a					
Approached to Latīfu'd-Dīn Rishī...						f. 96a			
The Sultān realised himself the mistake of exiling Zainu'd-Dīn		f. 292a	f. 77b				p. 131		
The Sultān sent one of his sons to Zainu'd-Dīn asking him to return to Kashmīr	ff. 19b, 36b			f. 109a		f. 96b	p. 131		
The moment Zainu'd-Dīn reached Kashmīr, the Sultān recovered and went to receive him personally.	f. 20b	f. 292a	f. 77b				pp. 131-2		
Introduced *Rishī-jā* in Kashmīr		f. 292b							

	T.Ks.	R.N.	A.Ab.	R.Nm.	T.Az.	F.K.	T.H. III	T.K.	Other Sources
Disappeared from the cave. A disciple saw him in a dream and was told to make a grave in his name where his *tābūt* was found						f. 96b		p. 104	

	T.Ks.	*R.N.*	*A.Ab.*	*K.S.*	*T.Az.*	*F.K.*	*T.H. III*	*T.K.*
Original Hindu name Ladī Raina	f. 39a				p. 65			
Idī Raina			f. 78a			f. 98b		
Āwat Raina							p. 132	p. 104
Chief of Marv Adavin	f. 39a	f. 294a	f. 78a	f. 38b		f. 98b	p. 132	p. 104
Son of a chief					p. 65			
Called one day on the Shai*kh*, who asked to accept Islam. Accepted the Shai*kh*'s advice		f. 294a	f. 78a		p. 65	f. 98b	pp. 132-3	p. 104
Was overpowered by mystical attraction and became the Shai*kh*'s disciple				f. 38b				
Conversation with Shai*kh* regarding worldly things			f. 78b					

	T.Ks.	*R.N.*	*A.Ab.*	*K.S.*	*T.Az.*	*F.K.*	*T.H. III*	*T.K.*
Settled at Uttar	f. 39b	f. 294b	f. 78b			f. 98b	p. 133	p. 104
Gave up eating fresh vegetables		ff. 294b -295a	ff. 79a 92b-93a			ff. 98b-99a	pp. 133, 164	
Moved to Poskar from Uttar	f. 39b	f. 295a	f. 79a	f. 39a		f. 99a	p. 133	
Died at Poskar	f. 40a	f. 295a	f. 79a	f. 39a		f. 99a	p. 133	

Naṣru'd-Dīn Rishī

	T. Ks.	R.N.	A.Ab.	K.S.	T.Az.	F.K.	T.H. III	T.K.
Hailed from *pargana* Yech	f. 40a							
Son of a wealthy family	f. 40a	f. 296a	f. 79b		p. 65	f. 100b	p. 134	p. 105
When young, fell seriously ill. In a dream saw a group of saints and was told to go to Nūru'd-Dīn, who could cure him	f. 40a	f. 296a-b	f. 79b		p. 66	f. 100b	p. 134	pp. 105-6
Told the parents about the dream, who took him to the Shai*kh*	f. 40a	f. 296b	ff. 79b-80a		p. 66	f. 100b	p. 134	p. 106
After meeting the Shai*kh* renounced world and became his disciple	f. 40a	f. 296b	f. 80a		p. 66	f. 100b	p. 134	p. 106
Renounced the world on his own				f. 37a				

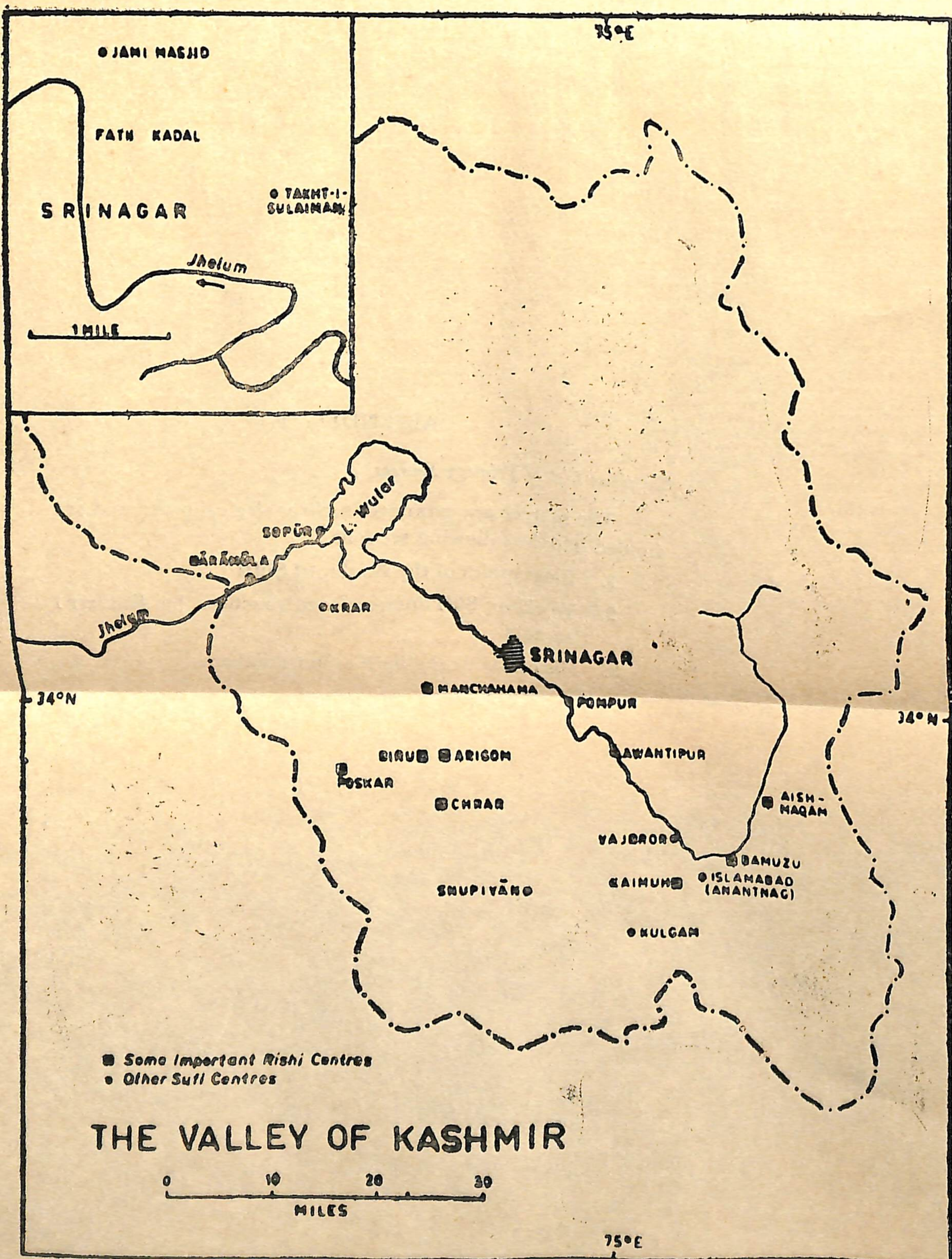
	T.Ks.	*R.N.*	*A.Ab.*	*K.S.*	*T.Az.*	*F.K.*	*T.H. III*	*T.K.*
Used to eat ashes mixed with water for food. One of the disciples of the Shai*kh* accused him of taking milk and providing them only with *sāg*	f. 40b	f. 297a	f. 80a-b			f. 100b	p. 135	
Was taking ashes without the knowledge of the Shai*kh*				f. 37a				
Nūru'd-Dīn asked to take rice instead of ashes	f. 40b	f. 297b	f. 81a	f. 37b		f. 100b		p. 105
Took only 100 grains of rice	f. 40b							
Took only 14 grains		f. 297b		f. 37b				
Took only 18 grains			f. 81a			f. 100b		
Took only 20 grains								p. 105
Retired to seclusion for 40 days and took only 4 walnuts with him for food							p. 135	p. 105

	T.Ks.	*R.N.*	*A.Ab.*	*K.S.*	*T.Az.*	*F.K.*	*T.H. III*	*T.K.*
One day the Shai*kh* heard him breaking a walnut and remarked that he thought he was breaking his *nafs*							p. 135	p. 105
After completing the seclusion presented all the four walnuts to the Shai*kh*							p. 135	
After hearing the Shai*kh*'s remarks all four walnuts outside the window								p. 105
Appointed Malik Jogī Raina as his kh*alīfa* at Chrār before his death, on the advice of the Shai*kh* who appeared to him in a dream			f. 81a			f. 101a	p. 133	p. 105
Died in 855/1451							p. 135	p. 105
Buried at Chrār			f. 81a			f. 101a	p. 135	p. 105

Qiyāmu'd-Dīn Rishī

	R.N.	*A.Ab.*	*T.Az*	*F.K.*	*T.H. III*	*T.K.*
Right from the beginning associated himself with the divines		f. 82a		f. 92b	p. 134	
Met the Shai*kh* and became his disciple	f. 182	f. 82a	p. 66	f. 92b	p. 136	p. 106
Settled at Manzgām	f. 182a	f. 82a	p. 66	f. 92b	p. 136	p. 106
Reduced himself to skin and bone	f. 183a	f. 82a	p. 66	f. 92b	p. 136	p. 106
Died at Manzgām	f. 183a	f. 82a	p. 66	f. 92b	p. 136	p. 106

Appendix E



THE VALLEY OF KASHMIR

APPENDIX F

Classified List of Primary Sources

The sources are arranged in chronological order and are divided into the following sections :

1. Biographies of the Kashmīrī Ṣūfīs
2. Works on Ṣūfī doctrines and practices by Kashmīrī authors
3. Historical works by Kashmīrī authors.

1. BIOGRAPHIES

Khulāṣatu'l-Manāqib, by Nūru'd-Dīn Ja'far Badakhshī, a prominent disciple of Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī. It was commenced at the end of Ṣafar, 787/April, 1385, in *Kh*atlān. The work gives a large number of anecdotes which throw light on the biography of Saiyid 'Alī. Some of these the author claims to have heard himself from his preceptor, while others seems to have been related to him by other disciples of the Saiyid. Naturally they do not contain an account of the early activities of Saiyid 'Alī and the description of the events of his later life is rambling in character. However, they throw some light on his teachings. The work surprisingly makes no reference to any of the activities of Saiyid 'Alī in Kashmīr.

It also quotes the verses of Saiyid 'Alī and other Persian poets such as S'adī and 'Aṭṭār. It also includes anecdotes of some other important saints such as Najmu'd-Dīn Kubrā and 'Alāu'd-Daula Simnānī. The later biographers of Saiyid 'Alī have drawn heavily upon this.

Manuscript copies of the work are available in the Oriental Research Department, Srīnagar (No. 658), and Riẓā Library Rāmpur (943); the latter manuscript comprises 160 pages, 21 lines per page [Storey, pp. 946-7].

Tuḥfatu'l-Aḥbāb : A biographical account of Mīr Shamsu'dīn 'Irāqī, who introduced the Shī'ī sect into Kashmīr. The author, who does not disclose his name, and his father, were the disciples of the Mīr. The author was introduced to the Mīr by his father at the age of five (p. 192), and the account is based on the knowledge of the author and that of his father.

The work gives several anecdotes relating to the Mīr's encounters with yogīs and highly exaggerates his success in demolishing temples and erecting mosques on their sites. It

also refers to the charities and magnanimous deeds of the Mīr. It claim that Shaikh Ismā'īl, the celebrated Kubravī saint of Kashmīr, had entered the discipleship of the Mīr (pp. 4, 6), is supported by no other evidence.

As the work refers to the events of Fatḥ Shāh's second reign which commenced in 1505, it is certain that it was written in the sixteenth century and Muḥibbu'l Ḥasan's[1] statement that it was composed in the middle of the fifteenth century is baseless.

Dastūru's Sālikīn, also known as *Shaḥ-i-Wīrdu'l-Murīdīn*, is a biography of Shaikh Ḥamza Makhdūm, by Bābā Dāwud Khākī; completed in 962/1554-5. The work has already been discussed in chapter II. It was published at Srīnagar in Ramaẓān 1356/November, 1937, and its translation into Kashmīrī appeared under the title *Zikru'l-Wāṣlīn*, Srīnagar 1365/1946.

Rishī Nāmā, is another work by Bābā Dāwud Khākī, completed in 988/1580-81 (chronogram). Its account of the Rishīs is very brief and it largely deals with the miracles of Bābā Dāwud's preceptor, Shaikh Ḥamza and his father-in-law, Mīrak Mīr, a Qādirī saint of Kashmīr. The only manuscript copy (dated 1146/1733-34) of this work, to our knowledge, is in the Oriental Research Department, Srīnagar, No. 954. It comprises 135 folios and there are 16 lines to a page.

Chillatu'l-'Ārifīn, by Khwaja Isḥāq Qāri', a disciple of Shaikh Ḥamza; completed in 982/1574-75. It is divided into seven chapters.

1 Early life and initiation of Shaikh Ḥamza (ff. 2a-13b).

2-5 Ṣūfī doctrines such as khilwat, control of the carnal desires, and love of God (ff. 14a-31b) based upon the works of Shaikh Shihābu'd-Dīn Suhrawardī and Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī.

6-7 Life and activities of Shaikh Ḥamza, after his initiation into Sūfīsm (ff. 32a-126b).

Though overlaid with descriptions of the supernatural feats of the Shaikh, the work records some of his discourses

1. *Sultāns*, p. 11.

which are not available elsewhere. The manuscript copy in the Oriental Research Department, Srīnagar (No. 500), comprises 126 folios, 20 lines to a page.

Hidāyatu'l-Mukhliṣīn : Another biography of Shai*kh* Ḥamza, by Ḥaidar Tulmūlī; completed in 997/1588-89. Although the author claims to have sought to fill in the lacunae left by other biographers of the Shai*kh*, he generally follows *Dastūru's Sālikīn* and *Chillatu'l-'Ārifīn,* and makes no original contribution. The manuscript (No. 593), in the Oriental Research Department, Srīnagar, comprises 119 folios, 17 lines to a page.

Rishi-Nāmā, by Bābā Naṣīb, also called "Abū'l-Fuqara" (d. 1047/1637); completed in 1041/1631. It begins with a long preliminary discourse on the virtues of the Prophet and the first four Caliphs; and then goes on to give a detailed account of the Rishīs, especially of Shai*kh* Nūru'd-Dīn. Although full of legends and miracles, it throws important light on the growth and development of the Rishīs order. In the end it makes a brief reference to Mīrzā Ḥaidar's rule and his anti-Shī'ī activities.

Manuscript copies of this work are available in the Oriental Research Department, Srīnagar (No. 25, defective at the beginning), and India Office (Delhi Persia, 731). The latter comprises 414 folios; 15 lines to a page [Storey, pp. 985-86].

Asrāru'l-Abrār : A work on the biographies of the saints of all the important Ṣūfī orders of Kashmīr; completed in 1063/1652-53. The account of the Rishīs is generally based on the *Rishī-Nāmā* of Babā Naṣīb. It makes the brief but valuable comment that Rishī order existed in Kashmīr before the introduction of Islam. Some sayings of Shai*kh* Nuru'd-Dīn such as his remark on the difference between an *'ālim* and *'ārif* and his discourses on the controlling of *nafs* are given in this work in a vivid style.

The work is not chronologically arranged as follows.

1. Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī and some of his disciples.
2. Mīr Muḥammad and some of his disciples.
3. Saiyid Sharafu'd-Dīn Bulbul Shāh.
4. Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn and his followers.
5. Other Saints—the rest of the disciples of Saiyid 'Alī and Mīr Muḥammad and other Ṣūfīs.

The manuscript copy in the Oriental Research Department, Srīnagar (No. 40), comprises 266 folios, 13 line to a page.

Khawāriqu's-Sālikin, also known as *Tārīkh-i-Hādī,* by Mullā Aḥmad bin Ṣabūr; completed in 1109/1697-98. It contains a biographical account of some prominent Ṣūfīs of Kashmīr. The work is divided into three main parts.

1. Saiyids.
2. Rishīs.
3. Mashā'ikh-i-Kashmīr.

The manuscript copy in the Oriental Research Department Srīnagar (No. n.a.), comprises 196 folios (folio 4 missing), and there are 17 lines to a page.

Mastūrāt, by on Ḥaidar,[1] is an abridgement of the *Khulāṣatu'l-Manāqib* of Badakhshī; completed in 1136/1723-24. The author, however, makes several additions in his abridgement, such as the statement that Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī is reported to have said that the Prophet ordered him to go to Kashmīr in order to convert the people there to Islam.

Ethe (1850) incorrectly says that the work was composed by one of the disciples of the Saiyid, since the chronogram *nūr-i-'aql raft* yields 1136/1723-24, whereas the Saiyid died in 786/1385. The manuscript in the India Office (Ethe, 1850) comprises 96 folios, 11 lines to a page.

Futūḥāt-i-Kubraviya : A biographical account of 161 Irānian and Kashmīrī Kubravīya saints, including Rishīs, by 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Nūrī; completed in 1162/1748-49. The author overestimates the influence of the Kubravīya saints in Kashmīr and includes the Rishīs in that order.

1. Ethe (1850), does not mention the author's name, which appears in a verse at f. 437a.

Some statements in the work are self-contradictory and the dates are not always reliable. However its account of the growth and development of the Kubravīya and Rishī orders in Kashmīr is very important. The manuscript in the Oriental Research Department, Srīnagar (No. 50) comprises 164 folios, 23 lines per page.

Rishī-Nāmā : A work on the biographies of the Rishīs, different from the two previously described. Its author, Bahāu'-d-Dīn Mattū (d. 1248/1832) composed it in verse. The account of the Rishīs is mainly based on the *Rishī-Nāmā* of Naṣīb. It adds some anecdotes regarding Shai*kh* Nūru'd-Dīn's life, not described elsewhere. The biographies of some other Kashmīrī saints are also given in the work.

Manuscript copies of the work are available in the Oriental Research Department, Srīnagar (No. n.a.), and India Office (No. 3684). The later comprises 123 folios, 19 lines to a page.

Futūḥāt-i-Qādirī : A biography of all important Irānian and Kashmīrī Qādirī saints by Muḥammad Ḥusain Qādirī; completed in 1282/1867. It also gives an account of important non-Qādirī saints of Kashmīr. However, it provides important information on the growth and popularity of the Qādirī order in Kashmīr from the seventeenth century onwards. Manuscript in the Oriental Research Department, Srīnagar (No. 30), comprises 263 folios, 22 lines to a page.

Tārīkh-i-Hasan, by Pīr Ḥasan *Kh*uihāmī (d. 1898). This is a general political history of Kashmīr, however, its third, volume, entitled *Auliyā'-i-Kashmīr*, deals with the biographies of almost all the Kashmīrī Sūfīs. The author claims to have used a vast amount of material from the earlier sources. The volume is divided into the following five chapters : Saiyids, Rishīs, Mashā'i*kh*-i-Kashmīr, 'Ulamā and Majzūbs. It was translated into Urdu by M. Ibrāhīm, Srīnagar, 1960.

Tārīkh-i-Kabīr, also called *Tuḥā'ifu'l-Abrār*, by Ḥājī Muḥīu'd-Dīn Miskīn; completed in 1321/1903-4. The author claims to have consulted all the earlier hagiological and political works of Kashmīr, but it provides no additional information to that contained in *Tārīkh-i-Ḥasan*. It is divided into five chapters with the same headings as the later work. Edition; Amritsar, *Z*iqa'd, 1322/January, 1905.

2. WORKS ON SŪFĪ DOCTRINES AND PRACTICES BY KASHMĪRĪ AUTHORS

The works of Saiyid 'Alī, listed below, bear no date and are arranged alphabetically. Reference to manuscript copies in different libraries has been made in Appendix A.

Maqāmatu'l-Ṣūfiya, gives the forty 'stations' of the contemplative life. It is identical with the *Risāla-i-Dah Qā'ida* (see below). The ten principles of the latter are expanded into forty, without explaining them fully. Ms. British Museum, Add. 16840. It comprises 3 folios, 19 lines to a page.

Risāla-i-Dah Qā'ida : A treatise devoted to the contemplative life, explaining the ten 'stations' which a devotee has to complete in order to reach his goal. Ms. British Museum, Add, 16832, consisting of 5 folios, 19 lines to a page.

Risāla-i-Darweshīya, explains the necessity of a spiritual guide for the seeker and the rules of conduct for the latter. Ms. British Museum, Add. 16840, 6 folios, 19 lines to a page.

Ri sāla-i-Futūḥīya, explains the Sūfī terms *akhī* and *futūwāt*. Ms. British Museum, Add. 16840, 9 folios, 18 lines to a page.

Risāla-i-I'tiqādīya, is devoted to the basic five principles of Islam. Ms. British Museum, Add. 16840, 5 folios, 19 lines to a page.

Risālā-i-Kashfu'l-Ḥaqā'iq, gives an explanation of the mystic journey. Ms. British Museum, Add. 16840, 5 folios, 19 lines to a page.

Risāla-i-Muktūbāt, is a collection of eight letters written by Saiyid 'Alī to various people. In these letters the Saiyid advocates the addressees to follow the path of justice and to observe the religious devotions such as prayer and fasting. Ms. British Museum, Add. 16840, 9 folios, 18 lines to a page.

Risāla-i-Mashāribu'l-Azwaq, is concerned with the causes which create love in man and deals with various categories of 'lovers of God'. Ms. British Museum, Add. 16840, 9 folios, 19 lines to a page.

Risāla-i-Sharḥ-i-Mushkilḥal, explains briefly *ma'rifa*, its various stages and different categories of people who strive after it. Ms. British Museum, Add. 16840, on and a half folios, 19 lines to a page.

Risāla-i-Zikrīya, discusses the importance of and advantages of the *zikr-i-khafī*, and defines in detail the two Ṣufī categories : *maqtaṣidān* and *sābiqān-i-Ṣafūf-wilāyat*. Ms. British Museum, Add. 16840, 8 folios, 19 lines to a page.

Zakhīratu'l-Mulūk, is the largest and the best known work written by the Saiyid. It is divided into the following ten chapters :

1. Articles of faith, comprising a discussion on the nature of the Godhead; Islam and *imān*.
2. The principles of devotion, such as prayers, fasting, alms and the pilgrimage.
3. Virtue and morality.
4. Rights of parents, wives, husbands, children and friends.
5. Rules of government, theory of kingship and relations with non-Muslims.
6. The spiritual kingdom.
7. The adherence to lawful conduct and abstinence from the unlawful.
8. Gratitude and contentment.
9. The virtues of patience.
10. Condemnation of conceit and anger; and praise of humility and forgiveness.

Edition: Amritsar, 1321/1903-4.

One more treatise by Saiyid 'Alī, which has been utilized in the present study, does not carry any title and is referred to as *Ms. C.* It explains the two Ṣūfī groups—*maslūbu'l-'aql* and *zū'aql*, and follows Ghazālī in discussing whether the *'ulamā* and the Ṣūfīs are legally entitled to use the wealth of the ruling

classes. Ms. British Museum, Add. 16840, four and a half folios, 19 lines to a page.

Nūr-Nāmā : A collection of the sayings in Kashmīrī poetry of Shai*kh* Nūru'd-Dīn Rishī. The editor, M. Amīn Kāmil, claims to have made the collection from various biographical works of the Shai*kh*; however, he does not give clear reference to his sources. The question of the authenticity of these sayings has been discussed earlier.[1] The present text consists of 257 short poems, mostly of four lines. Edition; Srīnagar, 1966.

Risāla-i-Zikriya, by Shai*kh* Ya'qūb Ṣarfī. The importance of *zikr* is explained and light is thrown on the author's attitude towards the nature of the Godhead. The manuscript copies of the work are in Riẓā Library Rāmpur, No (n.a.) and the Oriental Research Department, Srīnagar, No. 37. The work comprises 36 folios, 15 lines to a page.

Diwān-i-Ṣarfī : A collection of about seven hundred gh*azals* and forty *rubā'iyāt* of Shai*kh* Ya'qūb Ṣarfī. The gh*azals* are arranged alphabetically. Edited by Mīr Ḥabību'llāh Kāmlī, Srīnagar; (n.d.).

1. See supra, ch, VI,

3. HISTORICAL WORKS BY KASHMĪRĪ AUTHORS

Sanskrit

The Rājataraṅgiṇī of Kalhaṇa, is the most important available historical document of ancient Kashmīr; completed in 1148-49. It was translated into Persian under the orders of Akbar, by Mullā Shāh Muḥammad and rewritten in an easy style, in 999/1590 by 'Abdu'l-Qādir Badāūnī. Edition; Eng. Tr. M.A. Stein, 2 vols, reprint, Delhi, 1961.

The Rājataraṅgiṇī of Jonarāja : Two hundred years after Kalhaṇa's death, Jonarāja (d. 1459) continued the narrative down to his own time. This is the earliest extant and most valuable source for the history of Kashmīr from 1150 to 1459. It throws important light on the circumstances which led to the establishment of the Sultanate in the Valley; and the tension which prevailed during Sul*t*ān Sikandar's reign. Being a staunch Brahman himself, Jonarāja greatly resents the conversion of the Hindus to Islam and therefore his statements should be viewed with caution. Edition; Hoshiarpur, 1967; Eng. Tr., J.C. Dutt (*Kings of Kashmīra*), Calcutta, 1898.

The Rājataraṅgiṇī of Shrīvara or *Jainarājataraṇgiṇī*, by Shrīvara, the pupil of Jonarāja, gives a detailed account of the history of Kashmīr from 1459 to 1486. Like Jonarāja, Shrīvara greatly exalts the virtues of Zainu'l-'Ābidīn and is very critical of the Baihaqī Saiyids. Eng. Tr., J. C. Dutt, op. cit.

The Rājataraṅgiṇī of Shuka, is a historical account of Kashmīr from Sul*t*ān Faṭh Shāh's second reign down to the Mu*gh*al conquest of the Valley, by Shuka. It gives a valuable account of the rebellions and civil wars which had by this time become the order of the day in Kashmīr. It also throws some light on the activities of Mīr Shamsu'd-Dīn 'Irāqī. Eng. Tr., J.C. Dutt op. cit.

Persian

Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr, by Saiyid 'Alī. This is the only extant Persian chronicle written during the reign of the Sulṭāns of Kashmīr. G.M. Ṣūfī[1] says that the work was written between 1530-37, but the manuscript copy available to us also refers to events taking place after 1537 and, for example, lists the Chak rulers as far as Yūsuf Shāh. As the work does not refer to Saiyid Mubārak Baihaqī, who succeeded Yūsuf Shāh in 1579, it would appear to have been completed in 1579 or a little before.

The author was related to the Shāh Mīr dynasty through his mother who was the sister of Nāzuk Shāh (f. 27a-b). Both Saiyid 'Alī and his father, Saiyid Muḥammad, were probably in the service of Mīrza Ḥaidar (ff. 27a). The manuscript begins abruptly with an account of the arrival at Kashmīr during the reign of Sulṭān Shihābud'-Dīn, of Saiyid Tāju'd-Dīn, the cousin of Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī. The conquests of Sulṭān Shihābu'd-Dīn and the iconoclastic activities of Sulṭān Sikandar are both greatly exaggerated. Most of the work is concerned with the lives of the Ṣūfīs including Rishīs. There is no chronological order in the narrative. A detailed analysis of the work is given below.

The arrival of Saiyid Tāju'd-Dīn and the conquests of Sulṭān Shihābu'd-Dīn, ff. 1a-2b.

Accession of Sulṭān Quṭbu'd-Dīn and the arrival of Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī, ff. 2b-3a.

Activities of Saiyid 'Alī and some of his disciples, ff. 3a-8b.

Death of Sulṭān Quṭbu'd-Dīn, f. 9a.

Accession of Sulṭān Sikandar and the arrival of Mīr Muḥammad, f. 9a-b.

Iconoclastic activities of Sulṭān Sikandar and Mīr Muḥammad's efforts to spread the faith of Islām, ff. 10a-14b.

Death of Sulṭān Sikandar and the accession of 'Alī Shāh, f. 14b.

1. *Kashīr*, I, xl.

Zainu'l 'Ābidīn's reign: his activities to rehabilitate the Hindus and his patronage of arts and crafts, ff. 15a-17b.

Brief description of important saints including Shai*kh* Bahāu'd-Dīn Ganjba*kh*sh, ff. 17b-19a.

Description of Zainu'd-Dīn and his exile to Tibet, ff. 19b-20a.

Accession of Ḥaidar Shāh, f. 20a.

Accession of Ḥasan Shāh: a brief description of his reign, ff. ff. 20a-21a.

Arrival of Shamsu'd-Dīn 'Irāqī, f. 21a.

Brief description of Shai*kh* Ismā'īl Kubravī and his father Shai*kh* Fatḥu'llāh, f. 21b.

Accession of Fatḥ Shāh, f. 21b.

Civil war between Muḥammad Shāh and Fatḥ Shāh and the latter's death, f. 22a.

Brief description of Shai*kh* Ismā'īl's activities, f. 23a.

Shamsu'd-Dīn Irāqī's second visit to Kashmīr and his activities, ff. 23a-25a.

Mirzā Ḥaidar's conquest of Kashmīr (second time), ff. 25b-26a.

Mirzā Ḥaidar's anti-Shī'ī activities, f. 26a-b.

Mirzā Ḥaidar's downfall and death, f. 27a-b.

Ghāzī Shāh's accession, f. 27b.

Ḥasan Shāh's, 'Alī Shāh's and Yūsuf Shāh's reign, f. 28a.

Reference to disciples of Mīr Muḥammad Hamadānī, ff. 28b-29b.

Reference to disciples of Saiyid 'Alī, ff. 29b-30a.

Brief notices about Saiyid Ḥājī Murād, Saiyid Ḥusain Rūmī, Bābā Usmān Ganā'ī, ff. 30b-31b.

Descriptions of prominent Rishī saints, ff. 32a-47a.

The manuscript copy in the Oriental Research Department, Srīnagar (No. 739) comprises 47 folios, 15 lines to a page.

Bahāristān-i-Shāhī is a history of Kashmīr from earliest times to 1023/1614-15, the year of its composition (chronogram). Nothing is known about the author, but it is popularly

believed that he was a Shī'ī[1]. The author mentions (ff. 33a-b) that his great grandfather, Mullā Ḥasāmu'd-Dīn, had migrated from *Ghaznī* and was a disciple of Ḥājī Ibrāhīm Adham, a Kubravī saint of Kashmīr. He was probably in the service of, or patronised by the Baihaqī Saīyids, for he devotes a large part of his work in eulogizing their characters and careers.

Apart from the Sanskrit chronicles mentioned earlier, the author claims to have consulted also the Persian works of Mullā Aḥmad and Mullā Nādirī of Zainu'l-'Ābidīn's time, of which there are now no traces. The pre-Islamic period is dismissed in a few folios. The Muslim period, especially from the time of the later Shāh Mīr rulers, is discussed in detail. Some prominent Ṣūfīs of Kashmīr are also described by the author who provides the first account of the conflict which existed between Sul*t*ān Qu*t*bu'd-Dīn and Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī.

The manuscript copies of the work are available in the British Museum (No. OR. 1799) and in the India Office (No. Ethe, 509) : the latter comprises 221 folios, 16 lines to a page.

Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr, by Ḥasan bin 'Alī. This is a short history of Kashmīr, which is claimed to cover the period to 1616; however, apart from a casual reference to Ya'qūb Shāh's submission to Akbar, the author does not proceed beyond Sul*t*ān Ḥasan Shāh's reign (1472-84). He corroborates the view stated in the *Bahāristān-i-Shāhī* on the conflict between Sul*t*ān Qu*t*bu'd-Dīn and Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī.

Manuscript copy in the Bodleian Library (No. 315) comprises 131 folios, 15 lines to a page.

Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr, by Ḥaidar Malik Chādura, completed in 1620-21. The work closely follows the *Bahāristān-i-Shāhī*. Like the latter, it gives a short account of some important Muslim saints of Kashmīr and throws some light on the Shī'ī-Sunnī conflict there. The manuscript copies of the work are available in the British Museum (No. OR. 1799) and in the

1. Cf. Ṣūfī, *Kashīr*, I, p. XL; Muhibbu'l-Ḥasan, *Sultāns*, p. 8; *Historians of Medieval India*, p. 56.

India Office (No. Ethe, 2846). The latter copy comprises 188 folios and there are 10 lines to a page.

Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr, by a Kashmīrī Brahman, named Nārāyan Kaul 'Ājiz, is a history of Kashmīr to 1710, the year of the completion of the work. It is an abridgement of Ḥaidar Malik's chronicle and contains no new information. The manuscript copies of the work are available at the Bodleian Library (No. 318), India Office (No. Ethe, 511) and British Museum (No. 11631). The latter comprises 125 folios, 14 lines to a page.

Nawādiru'l-Akhbār, by Abā Rafī'u'd-Dīn Aḥmad, completed in 1136/1723-24. It provides no information which is not contained in the earlier works, such as *Bahāristān-i-Shāhī* and *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr* of Ḥaidar Malik. The author, however, overestimates the influence of the religious factor in the civil wars which followed Sulṭān Ḥasan Shāh's reign. Manuscript copy in the British Museum (No. Add. 24029) comprises 131 folios, 11 lines to a page.

Tārīkh-i-A'zamī, also called *Wāqi'at-i-Kashmīr*, by Muḥammad A'ẓam. This was completed in 1160/1747-48. The historical account is abridged from earlier works, but it offers valuable descriptions of all the prominent Ṣūfīs of Kashmīr. These descriptions are inserted, in each case, after an account of the Sulṭān in whose reign the individual Ṣūfīs lived. Edition; 1303/1886.

Gauhar-i-'Ālam. According to its preface, this is an abridgement of the above mentioned *Tārīkh-i-A'zamī*, by Muḥammad Aslam. It was completed in 1200/1785-86 and dedicated to Shāh 'Ālam II (1759-1806). Manuscript copy in the Bodleian Library (No. 320) consists of 289 folios, 11 lines to a page.

Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr, also known as *Majma'u'l-Tawārīkh*, by Birbal Kachrū. This is a history of Kashmīr to 1251/1835-36. It is mainly based upon the earlier Sanskrit and Persian chronicles and is of little use for the history of the rulers before the Sikhs. Manuscript copy (No. 1973) in the Bodleian Library comprises 399 folios, 13 lines to a page.

Tārīkh-i-Ḥasan, by Pīr Ḥasan Khuihāmī (d. 1898). The first volume deals with the geography of Kashmīr, the Muslim monuments, castes, tribes and religious sects. The second volume is devoted to the political history of Kashmīr to the author's own time. The third volume has already been referred to under the section concerned with biographies. The fourth volume concentrates upon the poets of Kashmīr, mostly Persian, who flourished in the Sultanate and the Mug*h*al period. Edition; I, Srīnagar, 1954; II, Urdu tr. M. Ibrāhīm, Srīnagar, 1957.

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Very few of the works on which this thesis has been based have been published. It was with the help of the various catalogues—published and unpublished—such as Rieu's *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum,* Blochet's *Bibliothèque Nationale : Catalogue des Manuscripts Persans,* Ethé's *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office,* and Storey's *Persian Literature : A Bio-bibliographical Survey,*[1] that the manuscripts were located. Some secondary works such as *Kashīr* and *Kashmīr under the Sultāns* were also of great help in locating some manuscripts. The catalogues of the manuscripts held in the Rizā Library, Rāmpūr, the Aligarh Muslim University, and the State Library, Rāmpūr have not been published. The author personally visited these libraries, took down notes, and obtained certain microfilms from them.

Where more than one copy of any work was available a choice of the particular copy used was determined by the following factors :

1. Availability of the manuscript.
2. Where a manuscript would not be lent out, whether microfilming was possible.
3. Age and condition. When a lacuna occurred in any manuscript selected as the source of a particular text, it was supplied from another manuscript, with due weight given to the characteristics of that manuscript as a whole.

The bibliography is divided into three main parts : Primary, Secondary, and Catalogues, Dictionaries and Reference Works. The primary sources have been grouped under two headings :

A. Manuscripts ;
B. Printed works.

1. A detailed list of the catalogues has been given under Reference Works.

All the primary sources have been arranged alphabetically under their titles, whereas modern works have been entered under the author's name. For convenience and economy the following abbreviations have been used occurring several in the bibliography :

B.M. British Museum.
H.M.K. *History of Muslim Rule in Kashmīr*, by R.K. Parmu.
I.O.L. India Office Library.
O.R.D. Oriental Research Department, Srīnagar, Kashmīr.
R.L.R. Rizā Library Rāmpūr.

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